

VIII.—*The Castle of Ludlow.* By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, Esq., M.A.

Read 9th April, 1908.

Of all the numerous castles on the Marches of Wales none can compare with the Castle of Ludlow in importance of position, the extent of its remains, or the part which it has played in history.

For a long series of years it was one of the chief strongholds of the Earl of the March, and at a later period became the place where the courts of the Lords Marchers were held, and the Lords President had their seat.

Unlike so many other important fortresses the Castle of Ludlow survived the troubles of the Great Rebellion, and it was not until it ceased to be inhabited, through the abolition in 1689 of the Court of the March, that it was gradually dismantled and suffered to go to decay.

Even in its present ruined condition much that is left is singularly perfect, and the thorough stripping away of the ivy and other noxious plants which has lately been so wisely carried out by order of the Earl of Powis, who now owns the Castle, has revealed many features that have long been hidden from view and saved others from imminent destruction.

Although Ludlow Castle has been many times described, and forms the subject of one of the late Mr. G. T. Clark's excellent memoirs,* it presents several interesting peculiarities which hitherto have not been explained, and which differentiate it in many ways from other castles of similar plan.

In Easter week, 1908, with the permission of the Earl of Powis, and by the help of several kind friends, who made themselves responsible for the cost, I was enabled to carry out such excavations as were desirable for the elucidation of the difficulties in question. These excavations were continued the following September and during several other pleasant holidays, for a large part of which I was joined by our Fellow Mr. Harold Brakspear. It thus became possible to carry out a further necessary and important work, an entirely new historical

* *Medieval Military Architecture*, I. 273-290.

plan of the castle to a sufficiently large scale. For the drawing out of this from our joint measurements I am much indebted to Mr. Brakspear's kind help.

In addition to the planning, a written description, which forms the basis of the present paper, was made on the spot of the characteristic features of every wall-face within and without the Castle. They who have carried out a similar work will appreciate the insight which can only thus be gained as to the structure and architectural history of any ancient building.

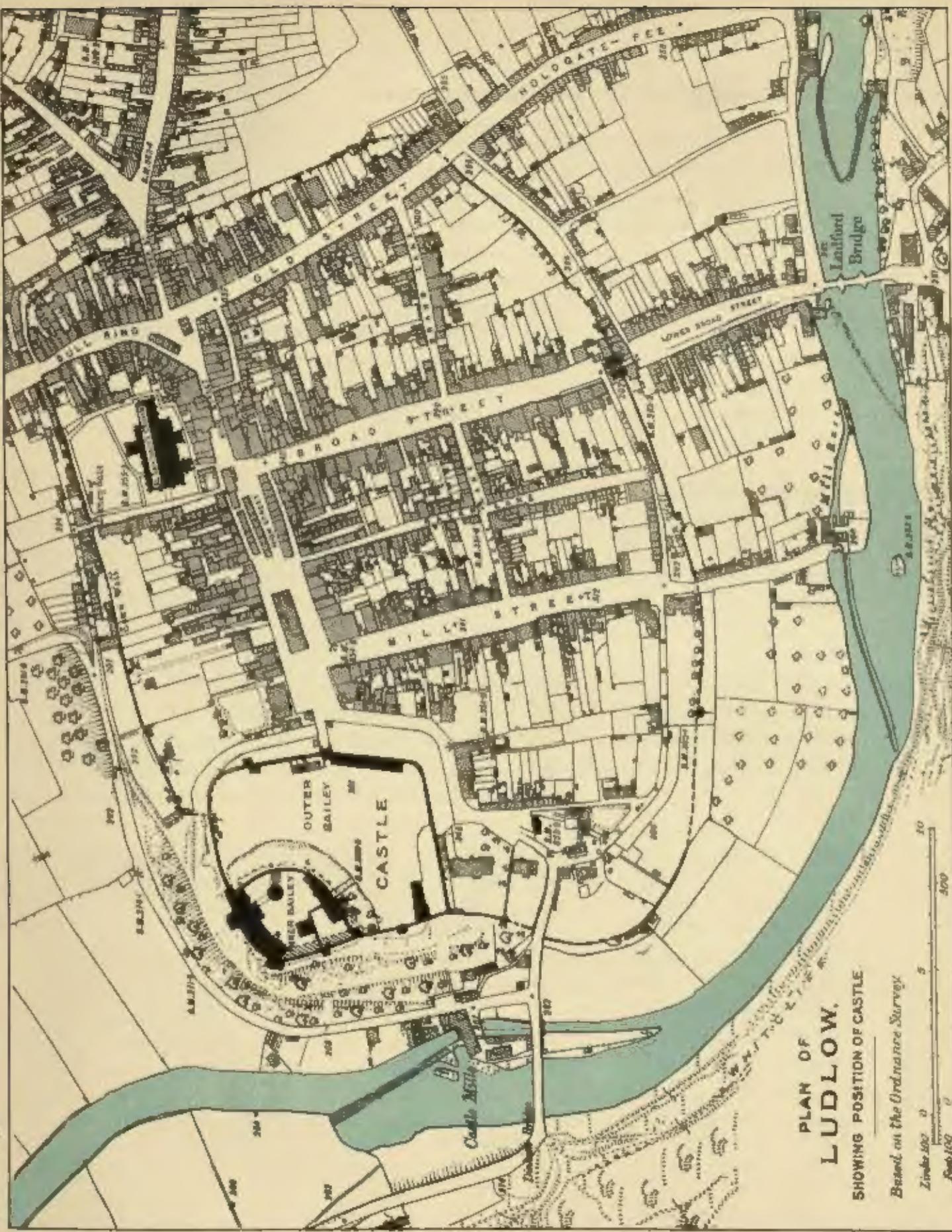
I am also indebted to the Earl of Powis, through Mr. R. H. Newill, for the loan of a valuable set of plans and measured drawings of the buildings in the inner bailey of the Castle made so far back as 1765, and of a general plan taken in 1811, showing the then lay out of the outer bailey and the general surroundings of the Castle.

Lastly, I have to thank Mr. Henry Weyman for the splendid series of photographs which illustrate this paper. Most of these were taken under my direction by Mr. Jones of Ludlow from tops of walls and points of view only accessible by means of ladders, with the special object of illustrating the architectural history of one of the most important and imposing fortresses in Britain. For the photographs reproduced in figs. 5, 6, and 23 I am indebted to Mr. C. H. Bothamley.

The town of Ludlow is just within the southern border of Shropshire, and is bounded on the west and south by the river Teme, which for a long time formed the boundary between Salop and Herefordshire. The Castle is placed at the north-east corner of the town, and on the highest point of the rocky hill on which it stands, just below the junction of the Teme with the lesser river Corve. The hill here rises to a height of about 100 feet above the low-lying land north of it, and is cut off by the river from the still higher ground called Whiteliff which overlooks the town on the south-west. The town is still surrounded to a large extent by the remains of its thirteenth-century wall, which abuts upon the Castle so as to include it in the defences. (Plate XXXVI.)

The Castle area is roughly rectangular in plan, and measures within the walls some 500 feet from north to south by about 435 from east to west; it therefore covers almost five acres.

Before the construction of the public walks round the Castle in 1772 the north and west sides were protected by more or less precipitous cliffs, which had probably been largely scarped through the quarrying of the hill during the building of the Castle. On the east and south sides, where there is no natural defence,



a deep ditch was cut towards the town, probably in the rock. But this is now almost completely filled up, especially on the south, where its site has been absorbed by the town, and mistakenly planted with trees. In continuation of the walk round the Castle two archways have been cut through the walls to enable a path to be carried through the south-west angle.

Within the Castle the north-west quarter is cut off, quadrantwise, from the rest of the area by another deep and wide ditch, excavated in the rock from cliff to cliff. It thus divides the area into an inner and an outer bailey.

The inner bailey seems to have formed the original Castle, and from the beginning to have been enclosed by a strong wall of masonry with external towers on the outer angles. The entrance into it was on the south, through a massive tower-gatehouse. This could be approached only by a wooden bridge across the ditch, which was from 70 to 80 feet wide, with vertical sides.

The outer bailey is clearly of later date than the inner, and was also enclosed by a wall, with external towers at intervals and a gatehouse towards the town.

The remains of this outer gatehouse belong to the end of the twelfth century, and consist externally of a projecting porch about 24½ feet wide, of coursed rubble with sandstone quoins, in which is set the entrance. This has on either side, though not bonded, a buttress-like mass of wall. (Plate XL.)

The present aspect of the gatehouse is so far from formidable as to raise the question whether it was not covered by a strong barbican or other such defence, of which these buttress-like masses are all that is left. If, however, anything of the kind existed it must have gone before the close of the sixteenth century, since among the works in the Castle* attributed to Sir Henry Sidney, who was Lord President of the Marches from 1559 to 1586, was the

making of a fayre larde stone bridge into the said Castle, wth one greate arche in the myddest and twoe at both endes conteyning in leinght aboue xxx¹² or xl¹⁰ yarde and in height upon both sydes wth fyne stone a yard and a half.

There are now no traces of this bridge, and the filling up of the ditch which it spanned has hidden any possible remains of its piers and arches.

The entrance into the Castle is a pointed archway about 9 feet wide with square edges, and over it a relieving arch. Above is a simple stringcourse on which stands a wide window or doorway with chamfered jambs. The head is segmental, and apparently a modern rebuilding. Within the archway is an entry,

* Lansdowne MS. 111, No. 9, f. 20.

5½ feet deep, covered by a pointed rubble vault, with a broad inner arch, also pointed. The upper part of this has been reconstructed in the fourteenth century, and the earlier square-edged jambs partly cut down to correspond. How far the gatehouse extended westward is uncertain. On the north there is nothing, and on the south a length of much patched wall pierced with an Elizabethan doorway. As, however, this wall is of the same age and thickness as the porch wall it probably formed one side of a tower, the existence of which would materially strengthen the apparent weakness of the gate. There are some indications that the passage through the tower was covered by a barrel vault. Neither here nor elsewhere in the Castle is there any place for a portcullis.

The curtain wall north of the gatehouse remains more or less intact for



Fig. 1. Postern with stone-plated door in north wall of outer bailey.

feet, not only as far as the rounded corner, but on to the south-west angle of the Castle, and retains the original parapet throughout with plain loops piercing the battlements. Its average height is 35 feet. Projecting from its south face close

The curtain wall south of the gatehouse is unusually perfect, not only as far as the rounded corner, but on to the south-west angle of the Castle, and retains the original parapet throughout with plain loops piercing the battlements. Its average height is 35 feet. Projecting from its south face close

300 feet, but is largely covered up by modern buildings within and ivy without. At 245 feet from the gate there projects a rectangular tower, still complete to its full height. Beyond the tower the original wall is missing where it rounded off the corner, and when it again appears after a break of 140 feet is considerably reduced in height. Its line is, however, continuous up to the Norman tower of the inner bailey. In this length is a postern doorway made up of odd moulded stones in which still hangs an old door, remarkable for being plated externally with slabs of sandstone, apparently as a protection against fire. (Fig. 1.)

to the rounded angle was formerly a square tower like that north of the gatehouse. It is shown in a plan made for the Earl of Powis as lately as 1811, but is now completely destroyed.

Just within the gatehouse and extending from it southwards along the outer wall is a long range of Elizabethan buildings. (Fig. 2, and plan on Plate XL.) It consists of three separate structures. The first was a two-storied house, of somewhat irregular plan, owing to the angle which the gatehouse makes with the castle wall, but it had a frontage to the bailey of nearly 40 feet. The main



Fig. 2. Porter's lodge and prison block in outer bailey.

entrance was probably that from the gatehouse, but there is another plain four-centred doorway at the opposite corner. The ground floor has two large windows looking west and another on the north. In the north wall is also a square blocked opening. The upper floor has two large west windows like those below, but furnished with high stone side-seats. The square hood-molds of these windows are continued between and beyond them as a stringcourse. Above was a cornice with gargoyles, and an embattled parapet, large part of which has lately fallen. The interior of the house is completely gutted, and the inner face of the castle wall has been so injured that nothing definite can be made out from it. There were no doubt fireplaces in it to both floors. From the upper floor there is a doorway into the destroyed chambers in the gatehouse. The south wall of the house was

common to the building beyond, but is all gone, and there is nothing to show where the staircase was.

The second building was also two-storied, and though intact as to its walls, has lost its floors and roof. It projects a few inches in front of the northern house and has a frontage to the bailey of 58 feet, 23 feet in advance of the castle wall. The front has in the middle a four-centred doorway, which was walled up half-way soon after its building and made into a window. It opened into a small lobby roofed over with stone slabs, with doorways from it right and left, and another in front which leads into a passage $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, now used as an ammunition store for the local Volunteers; but originally, no doubt, this contained the stair to the upper floor. The room north of the lobby has two square-headed windows, rather high up, on the west, with steeply sloping sills. Over it was a room of the same size lighted by two windows like those below. All four windows are quite plain outside. The part south of the lobby has four square-headed loops, two below and two above, with hood-molds, and in its south end a small doorway from the bailey. The lower story was subdivided by a stout wall into two rooms, the northernmost of which had a fireplace on the east. The upper story was similarly treated. The south main wall has a corbel table at the top inside, and the front of the building was finished off with a cornice, gargoyles, and parapet like the contemporary house to the north.

There is little to suggest to what use these buildings were put, but that next the gatehouse was probably the porter's lodge, and the second block a prison. Some works upon the former are included in the enumeration of Sir Henry Sidney's works:

Item for making and reping of two Chambⁿ and divers other howses of offices as kitchin larder and buttry at the gate over the Porter's lodge at the Castle of Ludlowe and for Tyleng and glasing therof.

The third of the buildings under notice is somewhat later than the others, and has much thinner walls. It has a frontage to the bailey of 66 feet and an internal depth of 21 feet, and apparently served as a stable, with loft over. The front has a large four-centred doorway in the middle with two windows on each side, square-headed and of two lights. The upper floor had three similar windows, one over the doorway, the others over the windows below, but owing to the ruined state of the building little else than the sills is left. There are not any openings in the south wall, which seems to have been largely rebuilt. The whole of the range just described is constructed throughout of ashlar.

Next to the item already quoted, the list of Sir Henry Sidney's works continues :

Item for making of Twoo walles of lyme and ston of ffortie yarde in leinght at thentring into the said gate.

Item for making of a wall of lyme and stone at the Porter's lodges to inclose in the prisoners of aboue twoo hundredth yarde compasso wthin wth place the prisoners in the day tyme use to walk.

Item for making of a wall of lyme and ston three yarde in height, and aboue two hundred yarde compasso, for a woodyard wthin the same Castle.

There are no longer any remains of these enclosures, but the southern part of the bailey was used as a timber yard until comparatively recently.



Fig. 3. Remains of former chapel of St. Peter in outer bailey.

There do not seem to have been any buildings against the south wall of the bailey.

The length of wall which forms the western boundary of the outer bailey is interrupted midway by a tower to be described presently. South of the tower the wall, which is 6 feet 5 inches thick, is somewhat broken down. Attached to it and extending eastwards is a much ruined building, which included when perfect a wide western division, with an earlier long and narrow eastern portion.* (Fig. 3.) Of the narrower portion only the north wall and part of the eastern are old, and the south wall is gone. The north wall contains a two-light window, one of two originally, with plain tracery and pointed head, with an inserted transom not far above the sills. West of this window is an inserted Elizabethan doorway, and east of it, in the place once occupied by the second window, is another Elizabethan doorway, but 6 feet above the ground, from which it was reached by a flight of

* This is parallel with and distant about 43 feet from the south side of the castle wall.

stone steps, now gone. The wider western portion of the building is apparently Elizabethan, but beyond traces of a doorway and other openings in its north wall it is a hopeless ruin and devoid of all architectural features.

From the general proportions and orientation of the older portion of the building there can be little doubt that it is a remnant of the chapel of St. Peter. This is first mentioned in 1328, when Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, had a licence for alienation in mortmain of a rent of 10 marks to two chaplains to celebrate divine service daily in the chapel of St. Peter in Ludlow Castle, for the souls of the King, Queens Isabel and Philippa, Henry bishop of Lincoln, the said Roger and Joan his wife, etc.*

So far as its architectural features go the chapel may well be of the date in question. It was $21\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and at least 52 feet long, but the west wall, which no doubt contained the entrance, was destroyed during the changes of the sixteenth century. These changes involved the division of the chapel into two stories, the insertion of the two doorways, and probably the addition of the block between the chapel and the castle wall westwards. The transom in the remaining window belongs to the same changes and marks the line of the inserted floor. The windows in the destroyed south wall were no doubt similarly treated.

The alterations just described are evidently those covered by another item in the list of Sir Henry Sidney's works :

Item for making of a Cour howse and twoe offices under the same for keping of the Recordes and for syling Tylng and glasing therof.

The upper half of the chapel became therefore the courthouse of the Court of the March, and the lower half the record rooms. The "twoe offices" forming these can only have been lighted by the small openings below the window transoms, and must have been somewhat gloomy.

The tower on the castle wall north of the courthouse was added to the defences in the thirteenth century, and has long been known as Mortimer's.^b It is oblong in plan, with a rounded face to the field, and projects into the bailey $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the curtain wall, with a frontage of about 18 feet with canted corners. (Plate XL.) This was originally pierced by a depressed arch of entry, but in the sixteenth century the arch was walled up and a window inserted in the blocking. In the north-east angle is a vice to the upper floors and roof entered by an inserted

* Rot. Pat. 2 Edw. III. ii. m. 4.

^b In the legendary History of Fulk FitzWarin (see *post*) the keep or great tower is called Mortimer's, because one of that family was imprisoned in it.



Fig. 4. Exterior of tower on west side of outer bailey.

outer doorway, which also gives access to the ground floor. This is about 12 feet long by 9½ feet wide, and has an inserted groined vault of the fifteenth century with plain chamfered longitudinal, diagonal, and wall ribs. At the point where the cross ribs should intersect is a small square hole, about which is a four-sided frame with ogeed sides of the same section as the ribs. The hole perhaps contained a carved boss which has long fallen out. The room has a modern two-light window towards the bailey,* a fireplace, also modern, in the south wall, a deep pointed recess on the west, and another recess, now a coalhole, on the north. Externally this north recess shows a blocked square-headed opening, and facing westward is a modern two-light "Perpendicular" window, also blocked, which may replace an earlier opening. The first-floor room is quite plain, with a shouldered doorway from the vice. It has a flat ceiling and a modern fireplace, and was lighted by two windows, one to the bailey, the other to the field, of two pointed lights under a square head. The outer window is a modern restoration and carefully blocked. There is also a shouldered doorway from this floor to the rampart of the castle wall to the south. The second floor is a bare room with a blocked modern window on the west, flanked by two original square-headed openings. The third or topmost floor is also a bare room with modern roof over, and a blocked fireplace in its north wall. The chimney of this appears, externally, as a corbelled-out projection at the parapet level, but the rest of the wall is for the most part modern patching. The corbels which carry the chimney belong to a series originally set close together at the level of the uppermost floor round the outside of the tower, probably to carry a wooden boarding or gallery. (Fig. 4.)

The stretch of wall from Mortimer's tower northward is apparently of the same date, and has a doorway on to its rampart walk from the vice of the tower. There is no corresponding doorway at the further end, but in the Norman tower against which the wall abuts is a loop commanding the rampart walk. The old battlement remains, though somewhat ruined. Towards the southern end of the wall the parapet has been continued upwards for the width of the two cops and the intervening crevul of the battlement to a height of some feet, but for no apparent reason, as there is no turret in rear of it.

Before leaving the outer bailey it may be pointed out that another of Sir Henry Sidney's works was :

Item for making of a flayre Tenuys Cōte wthin the same Castle paving therof wth free stone and making the bowses rounde about the same wth Tymber.

There are now no indications of this, but in the 1811 plan a square enclosure

* This is apparently a "restoration" of an Elizabethan window.

extending northwards from the courthouse to the ditch and from the castle wall eastwards is marked "Fives Court," and so may represent its position.

The inner bailey, as already noted, occupies the north-west quarter of the Castle. It is quadrant-shaped in plan, and still enclosed by the original wall, which varies in thickness from 5 to 6 feet. The broad ditch cut in the rock which cuts off the inner bailey from the rest of the Castle is spanned by a bridge of two plain round-banded arches, resting on a middle pier and at each end on the



Fig. 5. The great tower and entrance to inner bailey.

rock. At the north end is part of an older bridge, which retains on its west side part of an original ashlar parapet 1 foot thick and 3 feet high. On this rests the remains of a later and thicker wall of coursed rubble, rising to a height of $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and pierced with a loop. Outside the two walls are flush, but inside the old parapet has been thickened 6 inches to carry the addition.

The bridge leads to the present entrance into the inner bailey. This is a broad but depressed two-centred arch of the fourteenth century with square order,

set beneath a wider and more pointed arch, also square-edged, but of late twelfth-century date, which originally had an inner order. (Fig. 5.) Both are insertions in the curtain wall, which is of early Norman work throughout. Within the inner arch is a stout old oak double door with a wicket.

Above the entry is an inserted niche flanked by fluted pilasters on high pedestals, and containing in the lower part the arms of Sir Henry Sidney within the Garter, with his crest above, and in the upper part the royal arms of Queen Elizabeth, also within the Garter, with lion and dragon supporters and ensigned with the crown. Under the royal arms is a panel with the inscription :

ANNO DOMINI MILLEBBIMO QVINQ^{UE}
NTIBMO OCTVAGERTMO COMPLETO
ANNO REGNI H[EL]YZABETHÆ AC
MILLEBBIMO V[IC]TORIÆ
ELIZABETHÆ, V[IC]TORIÆ, TERTII
EVVENTUR 1591

and under Sir Henry's arms on a panel flanked by a phœnix and a ragged staff :

HONORIBVS . FRONATIS . DQVIMINI .
LAPIDIS . AN^Q . REGNI . REGISÆ .
ELYZABETHÆ . 23 . TIR . 29th . YAR .
CÖMPTY . OF . TIR . PRESIDENY .
OF . SIR . HENRY . SIDNEY . KNIGHT . OF . TIR .
MIST . MISTER . ORDER . OF . TIR . GARTER . RT . C . 1591.

To the left of the armorial niche is a two-light square-headed window, and over the entrance an Elizabethan gable with a transomed window of four lights. To the right are other windows and a second gable, all Elizabethan.

The entrance has a wide segmental recess, and opened originally into what was perhaps a shallow gatehouse of 10 feet 6 inches projection, but of this only the porter's lodge remains on the west side against the great tower. It is entered by a shouldered doorway, and is a small chamber about 8½ feet square, with a pointed barrel vault, but there are no windows except a loop, now blocked, high up in the south-east corner. The porter's lodge is of the same date as the original bailey entrance. Beyond it northward is a short length of thirteenth-century wall, and then an inserted doorway of later date which now gives access to the tower.

The north jamb of the tower doorway is encroached upon by an Elizabethan wall, part of a block covering the gate, and extending eastwards along the curtain wall of the bailey.

This block is a three-storied structure of irregular plan, owing to its position against the curtain wall, which here makes a bend. It is now a roofless and floorless ruin,* but in a set of drawings made for the Earl of Powis in 1765 it is shown with its floors and partitions, and the roof, though somewhat damaged.

The ground story has to the west a wide passage from the bailey entrance, with a four-centred archway of two chamfered orders at the opposite end toward the court. (Fig. 6.) The arch is rebated for but never had doors. The passage was ceiled, and not vaulted. Opening out of it on the right is a small four-centred doorway,



Fig. 6. View in inner bailey showing entrance and part of Judges' Lodgings, the great tower, and remains of the great kitchen.

with a wide square-headed window beside it, which opened into a fair-sized room. This has towards the court a four-light transomed window with segmental rear-arch and opposite in the curtain a small fireplace, which may be mediæval. Projecting into the room on the east of the window is a vice to the upper floors, from which a partition once extended to the curtain wall. The room beyond the partition had originally a four-light transomed window towards the outer bailey, now blocked within. On its north side was a doorway into it from the vice and another four-light window looking into the court. The east wall was originally

* Part of the north front is shown in Fig. 6.

solid, but now shows a poor little fireplace and a doorway, both of much later date.

The vice has lost all its steps and has also a doorway from the court on the ground level. From the stair two other doorways opened on to the first floor into a western and an eastern chamber, the division being a partition running from between the entrance doorways to the curtain wall opposite.

The westernmost room had two four-light transomed windows towards the court, and in its north-west angle a skew passage through the wall on to (apparently) a wooden gallery or balcony. On the tower side was an opening on to an ascending flight of steps which turned at a right angle and led to a room over the porter's lodge. On the south is a deep recess, once closed by a partition and lighted by a two-light window, blocked within, but visible outside. It contained an uncurling staircase into the great tower. East of this recess is a good Elizabethan fireplace with stone mantel, and beyond it another two-light window, now blocked and only visible outside. Lord Powis's 1765 plan shows the room as divided by a partition running from between the two north windows to between the fireplace and window opposite. The eastern of the divisions was also subdivided by a partition extending from the middle of the window next the vice to just east of the window opposite. The narrow space thus formed had its south end cut off to form a little room accessible from that east of it, while its northern part had a single doorway from the room to the west. The latter would have been entered therefore only from the great tower.

The easternmost room of the first floor has a four-light window with wooden lintel towards the court, and another opposite, looking into the outer bailey, set in a deep recess. East of the recess is a blocked doorway into a closet or garderobe. The east wall has a broad square opening, once a window, and a good fireplace with corbelled-out head and stone mantel. In the left spandrel of the fireplace is a rose; the corresponding device on the right has mouldered away.

The third story also consisted of two large rooms. That to the west had a transverse roof with lofty gables over the line of the passage in the ground story, with a four-light transomed window in each gable. The main roof ran through up to the great tower, where the mark of it is plainly visible, with the wall plaster below. The room had a small fireplace in the south wall, and in the north-west corner a window towards the inner court. The eastern room had also a transverse gabled roof with a four-light transomed window in each gable. That to the south is set in a deep recess with a blocked door on the left into a garderobe. In the east wall is a broad square-headed light and a small fireplace. The vice originally continued upwards to give access to the roofs, and was capped by a conical roof.

It is lighted throughout its height by a series of wide square-headed loops, which were glazed. All the other windows of the block were of course glazed, and the principal ones were also shuttered inside. Externally the block has to the court a moulded plinth and labels to the windows. The parapet has also a moulded cornice which is returned over the gables of the roofs.

The inserted doorway in the east wall of the ground story opens into a small and much ruined building of the same date, built against the curtain and measuring about 19 feet in length by 13½ feet in width. In the west end is a small fireplace, and in each of the two free walls was a wide four-light window with brick jambs and hood-molds, but the mullions, which were probably of wood, have disappeared. There was an upper story, which must have been reached by a wooden stair. It also had a fireplace in the west wall, but its north and east sides are much broken down. The building is apparently of early seventeenth-century date.

In Lord Powis's drawings the whole of the block just described is called "The Judges' Apartments." This was probably its use from the first, since an inventory of 1650 gives the contents of "the Gouvernor's Quarters, formerly the Justices' Lodgings," which a process of elimination shows to have been the block in question.

Extending along the curtain wall northwards, beginning at a distance of some 10 or 12 feet from the buildings just described, was a long and apparently half-timbered structure, of which nothing remains above ground. Its plan was recovered during our excavations, and showed it to have had a frontage to the court of about 48 feet, with a mean width of some 15½ feet. Its outside limits were marked by narrow foundations of rough masonry, which enclosed an area paved with common 9-inch tiles. In the middle of the building was the base of a block of brickwork about 7 feet 8 inches square, with the hearths of two fireplaces set back to back. The one faced north, and was much the larger and deeper, and paved with bricks set on edge. The other faced south, and was of no great depth, but had an ample hearthstone in front. The doorway into the building seems to have been over against the chimney block; its site is indicated by a broad patch of pitching.

The building just described seems to have been the laundry.

In the eastern part of the bailey, at a short distance from the curtain wall, stands the well-known round nave of the Norman chapel of St. Mary Magdalene.*

It is about 28 feet in internal diameter, and built throughout of thin courses of well-laid rubble. Externally the building is divided into two stories by a

* It is so called in the legendary History of Folk FitzWarin.

stringcourse worked with a double row of large billets. Below this the wall is plastered for part of the way round.* (Fig. 7.)

On the west side is a round-headed doorway of three orders. This was at first quite plain, but the upper half of the jambs and the arch have been reconstructed* and the two outer orders are now carried by inserted jamb shafts with



FIG. 7. Exterior of round tower of chapel of St. Mary Magdalene in Inner Bailey

ornamental cushion capitals, and imposts carved with a star pattern. The outermost order has rich chevron mouldings with a star pattern round the edge of the soffit, and a label with a double row of billets. The second order

* The plaster ends abruptly on the north with a vertical line just beyond the entrance, but for what reason it is difficult to say.

* It is possible that there was a pause in the building of the chapel after it had been carried up a certain height, and that the enriched part of the doorway belongs to the later work.



Fig. II. Interior of part of the north side of the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene.

is simply moulded. The innermost is carried by plain square-edged jambs, and decorated with a chevron moulding and a stellar diaper round the soffit. The rear arch of the doorway is simply moulded, and seems to be formed of a number of stones that have been re-used.

Right and left of the doorway within is a wall arcade of seven arches on each side. (Fig. 8.) The arches are round-headed, and alternately moulded and worked with chevrons. The end arches start from square-edged jambs, without imposts or capitals, but the rest are carried by detached circular shafts with carved cushion capitals of different patterns, but without imposts or upper members. The arcades stand on a bench table 12 inches wide, with moulded edge, and 12½ inches above the floor, which was of stone flags.

In the upper part of the building are three round-headed windows facing south, west, and north. They are widely splayed within and have a roll moulding all round, starting on each side from a moulded base. (Fig. 8.) They were originally apparently open and not glazed, the place of the usual rebate being taken by a roll moulding about halfway through the thickness of the wall. From this the opening splay is quite plain, but the west window has the outer edge worked into jamb shafts carrying the head, which is chevronny, with a label of billets over. Externally the windows rest on the dividing stringcourse.

Opposite the entrance is the chancel arch. This is undoubtedly of later date than the wall arcade, and of three orders, carried by jamb shafts, which are doubled to the innermost order. (Fig. 8.) The shafts have cabled astragals and cushion capitals, carved on the south side with star-like flowers, and on the north with a series of waves. The imposts are also carved with four-rayed stars. The outermost order is chevronny, with a label worked with two rows of billets, and the soffit is worked with four-rayed stars in lozenges.

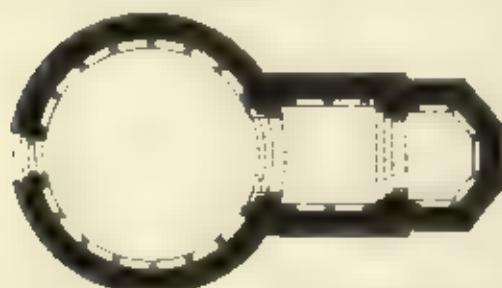


Fig. 9. Original ground plan of the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene. (Scale = 24 feet to an inch.)

beyond, 11 feet wide. (Fig. 9.) These no doubt had the walls arched, and were

The second order is moulded only, but has the soffit edged with four-rayed stars in squares. The innermost order has both the front and the soffit diapered with like stars.

The chancel has been destroyed, but our excavations brought to light its foundations, which show that it was 12 feet square, with a semi-octagonal apse

* The apse did not extend as far as the curtain wall, but stopped 5½ feet short of it.

divided by an arch like that from the nave. Both also were vaulted. The outer roof, as shown by its line on the nave wall (which also shows traces of the chancel vault), was of lofty pitch, with projecting eaves. The nave probably had also originally a conical roof with eaves, but this was afterwards taken off, the walls raised and encircled by an embattled parapet, and a new roof of lower pitch substituted.

The total internal length of the chapel was 54½ feet.

The date of this remarkable structure is somewhat uncertain. The rudeness of the wall arcades is suggestive of a date not much after about 1080-90, but the enrichments of the doorway and chancel arch are certainly later, and point on the whole to a period about 1120 for the completion of the chapel.

As regards plan, this chapel is not only absolutely unique in this country, so far as is known, but I have not been able to hear of any exact parallel to it elsewhere.

During the Presidency of Sir Henry Sidney the chapel underwent considerable alterations, which are thus described :

Item for for [sic] making roping, and amending of the Chappell wthin the said Castle; sylng, glusing, and Tylng of the same with fayre and lardg windowes: waynescotting, benching, and making of seats and kneeling places and putting upp of her Ma^{re} Armes wth divers noble mens Armes together wth all the L. Presidents and Counsailes rounde aboute the same.

The chapel has been so completely gutted, and all remains of the chancel destroyed, that it is at first difficult to follow Sir Henry Sidney's changes, but our excavations have helped to make all clear. The Norman chancel was taken down to its plinths and replaced by a new one of half-timbered construction extending from the round nave right up to the curtain wall, against which its buttal is traceable. The sides were much higher than the old building, no doubt by reason of the "fayre and lardg windowes," and the roof was a nearly flat one covered with lead. The floor was of tiles, and some traces remained of the fittings, which took up a space about 3½ feet wide along each side. The altar seems to have stood detached from the east wall, and was probably surrounded, puritan fashion, by a railing with kneeling places.

In the case of the nave, a floor, carried by old carved corbels of various dates, was inserted at the window level, 10½ feet from the pavement, to form an upper chapel for the quality while the ground story continued to serve for the household. Access to this upper chapel was by a wooden gallery from the buildings on the north to the north window of the chapel, into which a door-

way was intruded. (Fig. 8.) A doorway was also made from the lower gallery by cutting out the back of one of the wall arches. The upper chapel continued to be lighted by the original south and west windows, but the putting in of the new floor necessitated the lighting of the lower chapel by two large square-headed two-light windows inserted on each side in the back of the second arch from the door. The raising of the nave walls and flattening of the roof may have taken place at the same time.

The section of the curtain wall behind the chapel retains part of its original outer parapet, and here and there, especially at the ends, some of the inner protective parapet is left also.

To understand the story and arrangement of the range of buildings along the north side of the inner bailey, which are built against the original Norman curtain wall, it will be best to begin with the oldest portions, namely, the great hall and the block west of it.

The great hall is of late thirteenth-century work, and stands east and west upon a basement of the same size, which served as a collar.

This basement is 60 feet long and $30\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide; it was originally entered by a two-centred doorway in the east end of the south wall, and was lighted by four square-headed windows, also in the south wall, set in the ends of deep semi-octagonal recesses with depressed heads. The recess of the third window is narrower and shorter than the others, and square in plan. The second window was taken out in late Tudor times and replaced by a wide four-centred doorway. (Fig. 10.)

The west wall, and a casing of the Norman wall on the north to get rid of its curvature, are of the same date as the south, but do not contain any openings. The east wall abuts against the curtain with a straight joint, and is both older than the hall and more rudely built. It extends in height halfway up the hall itself, and may belong to the twelfth century. In its north end is a roughly-made opening of late date, now blocked.

The collar was not vaulted, but covered by a wooden roof, which served also as the floor of the hall. The wall plates were carried by corbels in the side walls, and there was a longitudinal beam down the middle, supported by two intermediate pillars. The foundations of these were found to vary considerably in size, that to the west being 2 feet and that to the east 6 feet square. The latter was no doubt made larger to carry the hearth of the hall fire above.

The hall was entered by a wide doorway in the west end of its south wall, reached by an ascending flight of stone steps, $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, now much broken down. (Fig. 10.) The doorway is a tall pointed one, of simple design, with



LUDLOW CASTLE. PART OF SOUTH SIDE AND BASEMENT OF GREAT HALL.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1908.

continuous mouldings; the reararch is also moulded. The door was a single one, guarded on the inner side by a drawbar 7 inches square, and the stump of an iron hook for holding it open remains in the left jamb.* Just to the east of the doorway may be traced the line of the screen, which was carried right up to the roof.†



Fig. 10. The great hall from the south.

In the rest of the south wall were three windows, each of two tall trefoiled lights with a transom, with simple arch mouldings and hood-mold. (Fig. 10 and Plate XXXVII.) Internally the windows are set at the back of shallow square recesses with two-centred moulded reararches, and were furnished with

* The doorway still contains an old oak door with braced braces behind, and pierced for a wicket, but its date is uncertain.

† See Plate XXXVII.

stone side seats, but these remain only in the westernmost window. The openings are rebated for the usual shutters, but those now existing in several of the openings can hardly be medieval. The middle window has been altered in late Tudor times,



Fig. 11. Window recesses, etc. In north and east walls of great hall.

by inserting in its lower half a large fireplace and over it a two-light square-headed window. (Plate XXXVII.) The flue of the fireplace is doubled, and passes up on either side of this window, but the chimneys have disappeared.

On the north side, which is of the same date as the hall, are also three windows, but of one light only, and of plainer character. Owing to the greater thickness, 7 feet instead of 6 feet, of the wall, the side seats are continued across the backs of the window recesses. The outermost window has been altered, the west jamb having been cut away quadrantwise for half-way up and the east jamb mutilated. (Fig. 11.) The reason for the alteration is somewhat obscure, unless it was for the insertion of a wooden staircase to a gallery or loft over the dais, which was at this end. To the east of the window is a small pointed doorway which opened on to an external stair, of the same date as the hall, to the upper chambers beyond.

The east wall has in its north end an Elizabethan doorway into the next room, and over it, on the level of the upper floor, an important doorway of late fifteenth-century work. (Figs. 11 and 18.) This doorway opens towards the hall, but unless there was a gallery over the dais, of which there are no definite traces, it is difficult to see its purpose. Subsequently the lower half of the doorway on the hall side has been taken out and filled up with rubble work.

There are no traces of the dais, but the side seats of the window south of it have been cut away apparently for a sideboard to it.

In the west wall of the hall are several openings. (Fig. 12.) On the extreme north is a pointed doorway into a stair turret to the roofs and upper chambers beyond. Then comes a similar doorway into a passage through the wall. This had originally by its side a like doorway into a deep recess, opening also out of the passage, but the doorway has been clumsily widened and raised, using up the old arch stones, the opening into the passage walled up, and the back of the recess cut through to form a second passage. At the south end of the wall a third passage has been also roughly made through it.

The hall roof was a massive wooden one, apparently of low pitch, and of five bays. The second bay is narrower than the rest to sustain the lantern* over the fire, which originally burned upon a stone hearth carried by the large pillar in the basement. The principal beams were supported by braces springing from bold corbels between the windows and in the middle of each end. These corbels differ in section along the two sides of the hall, and those on the south side have deep chases above them for the wall pieces. (Plate XXXVII.) About 6 feet

* The corbels that carried the narrow bay are shown in Fig. 11.

above the corbels an almost continuous row of a smaller series extends along each side to carry the wall plates. The walls of the hall seem from existing patches to have been plastered and not wainscoted.



Fig. 12. Doorways in west end of great hall.

Externally the hall is completed by a moulded cornice and embattled parapet. (Fig. 10.)



Fig. 13. Exterior of solar block west of great hall

Joining on to the hall on the west is a block of the same date and of three stories. (Fig. 13.)

The ground story is irregular in plan, owing to its north end being formed by



FIG. 14.—Interior, looking south, of solar block west of great hall.

a section of the Norman curtain wall. It has a uniform width of 26 feet, but the

east and west walls measure respectively 30 and 31½ feet. The entrance is from the court by a wide two-centred doorway in the south-west corner, next to which was a window under a two-centred recess in the south wall. This window was



Fig. 15. Interior of Tower one, on north side of solar block west of great hall.

subsequently broken out and replaced by a wide square-headed one of five plain lights. Owing to the increased width of this a skewed opening has been made

between the old window recess and the doorway to let in as much light as possible. On the soffit of the old window head there is painted on the plaster a flaming beacon resting on a torse between the letters **W N** and with a five-balled coronet above. This is the device of William Compton, Earl of Northampton, who was Lord President of the Council of Wales from 1617 to 1630, within which dates the later window must have been inserted. The east wall of the room has no openings, but the west contained a fireplace, most of the stonework of which has been torn out.* The north end of the room is formed partly by the Norman curtain wall and partly by an extension into the basement of one of the Norman towers. (Fig. 15.) The latter is about 12 feet wide and 18 feet deep, but is not quite rectangular in plan. Just within it on either side is a round-headed doorway that opened on to a flight of steps leading upwards in the thickness of the wall. That to the east is blocked a little way up by later alterations; but the other can be followed to a small vice that once led upwards to the parapet.

The basement of the tower, as well as the ground story out of which it opened, was covered by a wooden ceiling that served as the floor of the story above.

This was an important chamber of the same plan as the basement, but slightly larger owing to sets-off along the walls. It had originally two entrances: one from the hall; the other from the landing of the big flight of steps up to the hall door. Both doorways are plain pointed openings with chamfered jambs, and the outer was protected by a stout draw-bar.

In the south wall of the room are two windows. (Figs. 13 and 14.) The larger one to the east has a pointed opening with sunk chamfers and a hood-mold, and although nearly 4 feet wide was not subdivided. The opening was protected by iron bars and closed by a double shutter, the hooks for which remain on each side. The window is set in a deep square recess with stone side seats and has a two-centred reararch with the sunk chamfer. On the inside the window jambs were originally carried down to the floor, but have subsequently been filled with brickwork up to the sill, and the stone seats boarded for warmth. The lesser window is set in a recess of the same size as the other, but its opening is only 21½ inches wide. It was barred and shuttered, but has no glass grooves. The lower part of the window internally has been treated like the other, and has in it a drain fitted with an external spout. The window recess retains much of its old plastering.*

* It remains at the base, but, owing to the deep accumulation of earth and rubbish upon the floor, is not now visible.

* Between this window and the west wall there has been a square-headed opening to the outside, but this has been carefully walled up.

The east wall has at the south end the shouldered reararch of the outer entrance, and a little to the north of it the segmental headed archway of the later passage from the hall. (See fig. 14.) The middle part of the wall is occupied by a fine and ample fireplace with flat chamfered jambs corbelled out to carry the projecting hood, but the original lintel below this has been cut away and replaced by a segmental arch of brick. To the north of the fireplace is the forced opening from the hall, with a segmental head. Beyond this is the simple pointed archway of the original passage from the hall. All these features are well shown in Plate XXXVIII.

The north end of the room, like that below, is partly formed of a short section of the Norman curtain wall; but in this has been inserted a square-headed window of the same date as the room. To let in as much light as possible the left jamb has been cut back and the head corbelled out in a curiously ugly fashion. (Plate XXXVIII.) In the floor of the window recess may be seen the head of a Norman arch of the wall passage already described, and the wall below the window has been built up from the level of the basement as if there was once an opening into the wall passage, but it is impossible now to see how things were managed originally. The Norman walling in which the window is set was once continued to the west across the tower upon an arch, but this has been taken down and reset in a different form much higher up. (Fig. 15.) The space formerly within the tower has thus been thrown into the room. In the north end a plain two-centred archway has been made, opening into a Norman passage in the thickness of the tower wall, and opposite the archway a small trefoiled light of the same date. As the floor of the passage is 4 feet above the level of the room, the archway into it merely served as a reararch to the light opposite, and on the passage side it is seen to take the place of a former Norman loop. The passage, which is 3 feet wide, extends round the three sides of the tower, and was lighted by two loops on the west (now blocked), two more on the north (superseded by the later light), and by another on the east. Beyond this eastern loop the passage widens out and has in its outer side a round-headed garderobe recess with a loop at the back and raised a step above the passage. The garderobe is built out squinchwise over an external angle and only lacks its seat. The passage is covered throughout by a rubble barrel vault, and was entered from the west by a doorway now blocked; it probably also continued eastwards.

Returning into the large room it will be seen that the west wall is plain, with only a pointed doorway in it close to the junction with the tower. This opens into a skewed passage leading into a garderobe tower, which has been added out-

side in the angle of the Norman tower and the curtain wall. The building of this was the cause of the blocking of the western loops of the wall passage described above.

The large room and the annex to it in the tower had a wooden ceiling which served as the floor of the rooms above. The deep chases for the main cross timber may be seen south of the fireplace (Plate XXXVIII.) and in the opposite wall, and all along the walls are the corbels that carried the wall plates.

There is some little difficulty in deciding what may have been the original use of the room just described. It occupies the position normally occupied by the buttery and pantry and the way to the kitchen, but there is no evidence of such subdivision, and the kitchen was a detached building to the south. Such, nevertheless, may have been the original purpose of the room, and the idea is borne out by the wide passage of communication with the hall, and what seems to have been a serving hatch beside and opening out of it. On the other hand, the window seats, the fireplace, and the special garderobe accommodation, are as strongly suggestive of a living room.

The difficulty is not lessened by an examination of the basement. This has, it is true, a doorway wide enough to roll barrels through (fig. 14), but if the place were a cellar why has it a fireplace, and how were things taken up to the floor above?

This latter question can be answered as regards later days by the evidence of Lord Powis's plans. These show that the middle passage from the hall did not open directly into the room, but on to a circular staircase down to the basement. In the basement plan this is drawn as if of stone, and there is next it against the east wall a solid block as if to carry the hearth of the fire above. But no traces of these could be found by excavation, and they can hardly have been mediæval.

On the whole it seems most probable that the first-floor room was the solar, and the basement a servants' department. The stair referred to, like certain partitions shown on Lord Powis's plan, was probably an Elizabethan or later addition.

The third story of the block under notice was occupied by a room of the same size as that below. It was reached from the hall by the vice at the north end of the screens, and was entered from it by a pointed doorway set on one side of a three-sided segmental-headed recess for the door to fold back into. (Plate XXXVIII.) In the same east wall as the entrance is a small square-headed fireplace, and above it are the stumps of two octagonal chimney-shafts. At the south end of the wall is a small pointed window with two-centred mullions, but

built inside out as if meant to serve as a doorway into the upper story of a porch covering the entrance to the hall. (See fig. 14.) But there is no evidence that the porch was ever built, and the sill of the window is about 2 feet above the floor level, and has further been partly walled up. The south wall has within a segmental-headed recess a nice traceried window of two trefoiled lights. (Figs. 13 and 14.) These have saddle bars and shutter hooks, but no glass grooves. The bottom of the recess has been cut down to the floor level, but there are no side seats. In the west wall is a precisely similar window, and north of it a blocking which shows outside to be that of a square-headed window of two lights. (Fig. 13.) Both the original windows have sunk chamfers round the outer order, and the southern has also a label. North of the blocked window is a shouldered doorway into the wardrobe tower. The north end is of the same date as the rest of the room, carried up from the Norman work below, but on a straight instead of a curved line. It has next to the entrance a deep window recess, the bottom of which has been cut down to the floor, and in the back a pointed light. An added story to the Norman tower forms part of the room and opens out of it under a plain square-edged two-centred arch. (Fig. 15.) It has in the east side within a segmental-headed recess a trefoiled light, with stone side seats. The roof of the main building was almost flat, as may be seen by its ridge against the tower.

The vice that gives access to the uppermost story is continued up as an octagonal turret, from which there opens a shouldered doorway on to the main leads, and another doorway into a room in the top of the Norman tower. This room has thinner east and west walls than the annexe below, and so is of larger size. It has single light windows on the north and east, and on the south a fireplace with projecting head. The wooden roof was carried on corbels, and the tower finished off with an embattled parapet.

It is clear from an examination of the exterior of the block just described, which also has an embattled parapet, that the uppermost story is an afterthought, and it has at the south-east corner tushes for some projected attachment, which was not provided for in the original scheme. (Fig. 13.) This attachment was probably the hall porch already mentioned, and on the hall wall, between the doorway and the first window, a scar is traceable down the upper part where a series of corresponding tushes has been cut away. (See Fig. 10.)

To the east of the hall, and extending from it along the curtain wall up to the return of the latter southwards, is a somewhat complicated range of buildings of several dates. It consists practically of two blocks, the one Edwardian, the other Tudor, the latter occupying in part the site of something earlier.

The Edwardian block (Fig. 16) is of a date *circa* 1320, and slightly later than, though in continuation of, the work of the hall. It is three stories high, and in plan a rhomboid, 46 feet by $25\frac{1}{2}$ feet internally, with its south and east



Fig. 16. Exterior of great chamber block east of great hall.

walls 7 feet and $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick respectively. The ground story is entered by a small two-centred doorway on the south-west, recessed beneath a broad segmental arch which also nearly covers the somewhat earlier doorway into the hall cellar. The



LUDLOW CASTLE, INTERIOR OF SOLAR BLOCK WEST OF GREAT HALL.

Photographed by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1888

rest of the west wall is devoid of openings, but at the extreme north end are traces of a roughly made opening, now blocked, into the hall cellar. The north end is formed by the Norman curtain wall, and has no openings in it. The east side has a small pointed doorway at its north end into the great garderobe tower without, and in the middle of its length a gap for a contemporary fireplace, now torn away. In the south end, at the back of two deep square recesses with stone side seats, are as many windows. Each was of two trefoiled lights and square-headed, with a relieving arch over, corresponding to the pointed head of the recess within. The lights were rebated for shutters, and the subdividing mullions had a projection for a bolt hole inside. Both windows have now lost their tracery, but the pieces are lying about and could easily be replaced.* The room perhaps served as a guard-chamber. Round it are the large corbels that carried the wall-plates of its ceiling, which of course served also as the floor of the chamber above. Owing to the wide span there may also have been two or more supporting posts down the middle of the room.

The first floor room, from its size, position, and architectural importance, must have been the great chamber, but the difficulty is to see how it was entered.* The west wall has over the doorway below a deeply recessed square-headed window of two trefoiled lights, like those originally in the south wall of the ground story, but more elaborately moulded. It is fortunately perfect, and has a bolt hole for the shutters in the back of the mullion, and externally a label ending in carved busts. The recess has a segmental head and is square in plan, with stone side seats. At the north end of the west wall is a much botched opening, now partly filled by an Elizabethan doorway from the hall dais, which may mark the place of an original entrance.

The north end has seen many changes. In the middle was once an Edwardian window (perhaps similar to that over it in the floor above), but it was replaced in late Tudor or early Stewart times by a wider square-headed and transomed one of two broad lights. The head of this still retains its plaster ceiling and moulded wooden cornice. In more recent times the widely splayed opening has been reduced to a square form by masses of masonry to support the wall above, which was carried, in the most reckless way, by thin boarding only. (See Fig. 18.) To the left of the window is some older work with the vertical jamb of a blocked opening, and

* Since this Paper was written the remains of the tracery have been replaced.

* In Lord Powis's set of drawings a straight stair up to it from the room below is shown against the east wall, just to the north of the fireplace.

to the right of it a small doorway into the garderobe tower. The east wall has a passage nearly 5 feet wide through its north end into the next room, entered by a two-centred doorway with a drawbar on the passage side. In the middle of the east wall is also a large fireplace standing out upon a foursold series of corbels. It has side jambs with double ressants on the chamfers, curving out at the top to carry the stone hood, which has suffered much injury. (Fig. 17.) The lower



Fig. 17. Remains of fireplace, etc., in great chamber.

part of it is vertical, and the corbels that carry it are carved with bunches of oak leaves. On each side of the vertical part of the hood are two large quadrant-shaped brackets finely carved with leafwork and faces peeping through. The only other feature on this east side is an inserted square-headed fifteenth-century window of two lights with trefoiled cusping.

The south end originally contained a square-headed window of similar

character to that in the west wall, but of this there is left only the east jamb of its recess, with a shouldered doorway to a passage that led eastwards to a destroyed turret beyond. The rest of the window has been cut out to make way for a broad square-headed and transomed Elizabethan window of five lights, over which the label of the original window has been re-used.* (Fig. 10.) The wall passage to the east has been roughly cut through at the same time as the new window for the Elizabethan gallery to the upper story of the chapel, but of the gallery itself, which was a two-storied wooden structure, there are no remains.

The roof of the great chamber was carried by corbels with carved heads, and divided into four bays. There may also be seen in both the east and west walls a series of long chases now neatly filled up with masonry.* These were evidently for the wall pieces of a wooden roof with large moulded principals, and there can be no doubt that as originally planned the block under notice, like that west of the hall, was to have been of two stories only.

Inasmuch as there are no apparent means of communication between it and the room below, and the only important doorway opens from and not into it, the question how the great chamber was reached is a somewhat difficult one, but by a process of elimination a probable answer can be given.

It has been pointed out that from the recess of the original south window a passage led eastwards. This can only have communicated with an original turret attached to the south-east corner of the block under notice. This turret was destroyed when the fifteenth-century changes were made, but the traces of it are not altogether obliterated. It led up, probably from a doorway in its eastern face, to the great chamber and the room beyond on the same level, and to the room above the latter, but did not open into the room over the great chamber. It may be objected that the passages from the turret, with doorways only 2 feet wide, are too narrow for approaches to such important rooms, but at the time of the building of the hall and its adjuncts castles were still fortresses, and in one so near as Ludlow to the hostile Welsh border every precaution would of necessity be taken against attack, especially in connexion with the lodging of the lord and his family.

There seems also to have been another way into the great chamber at the opposite corner. Outside this is a contemporary staircase entered by a doorway

* The lintel of the inserted window is formed of wooden planks, which are dangerously insufficient to sustain the walling above, and it has been found advisable to insert a pillar of masonry to help carry the weight.

* One is visible to the left of the fireplace in fig. 17. The open chase of another, but shorter one, which has lost the filling, remains over the doorway to the north. The other hole nearer the fireplace represents the place of a lost corbel like that to the south.

off the north end of the hall dais. This opened into a lobby or halpace at the stair foot, whence a skewed doorway led into the great chamber. This was, however, built up in Tudor times and a small square window inserted in the blocking, and a new doorway made beside it opening directly from the hall. A two-light Elizabethan window was subsequently inserted in the outer wall of the stair halpace, and the stairs covered with woodwork.

The staircase just described led up to the room over the great chamber, into which it opened by a shouldered doorway set within a square-headed recess with a label over. (Fig. 18.) This room was of the same size as that below. In the north end, next to the entrance, is a tall and deep recess with depressed reararch with a label over ending in heads. (Fig. 18.) A stone seat runs round the recess and at the back is a tall trefoiled light with a transom, and rebates for shutters. Further east is a narrow pointed doorway^a into the garderobe tower. The east wall of the room has at the north end a doorway with moulded arch of two orders into the chamber beyond (see Fig. 17), and at the south end an inserted square-headed fifteenth-century window^b of three cinquefoiled lights with a plain transom. The south end has a deep square window recess with seats like that opposite, but the window was of two trefoiled cusped lights with a quatrefoil over. Unhappily the tracery has all fallen out except the transom. (Fig. 16.) The west wall has at the south end a window over that below, set in a deep square recess with segmental head, with moulded edges and a label over ending in carved heads. The recess retains its stone side seats, but the tracery of the window has gone. In the middle of the same wall is a fine contemporary fireplace with projecting hood. (Fig. 18.) The chimney of this is an elongated oblong on plan and remains to its full height, but the upper part has recently been rebuilt for safety. At the north end is a wide doorway inserted *temp. Edward IV.* looking into the hall. It is four-centred with continuous mouldings, but those of the head are curiously corbelled out from the hollow of the jambs. The doorway is set within a pointed arch, with panelled tracery in the head.^c (Fig. 18.) The possible object of this doorway has been already discussed in connexion with the hall.

The wooden roof of the room just described was a nearly flat one of four

^a This has on one side a bend like the termination of a label, but no label seems ever to have existed.

^b This has a horizontal wooden lintel, and is considerably later than the two-light window below it.

^c When this doorway was inserted the west jamb of the turret doorway was cut away for it.



Fig. 18. Fireplace, etc. in room over the great chamber.

bays, with wall pieces set in chases and resting on good corbels carved into heads of kings or queens. (See fig. 17.)

The room itself was a fine and lofty chamber, and was probably that of the ladies of the household.

The garderobe tower which has already been mentioned was built outside the castle wall at the same time as the block just described, and to the north-east of it. It is oblong in plan, with a long side against the wall, and contains four floors of bedrooms and garderobes, three of which were entered by narrow passages from the great chamber block and the contemporary rooms to the eastward.

The ground story contains two bedrooms, each about 9 feet square, and with a deep window recess on the north with stone side seats and a trefoil-headed light. Opening out of each room by a shouldered doorway is a passage, lighted by a square-headed loop, with ascending steps to a garderobe chamber, lighted by a similar loop. Both passage and garderobe are roofed with slabs resting on corbelling. The garderobes are quite complete, with the exception of the wooden seats.

The first floor contains a pair of chambers similar in every way to those below, but as will be seen from the plans the passages to the garderobes are differently arranged, and the latter are lighted by trefoiled instead of square-headed loops.

The second floor contained one large room, with entrances from both the ladies' solar and the chamber beyond into a passage from which a curiously shouldered doorway opened into the room itself. The room has two square-headed windows on the north, with side seats, and a small square fireplace between them, which has been considerably narrowed by brickwork. The westernmost window has also been reduced to a loop. On the east and west are doorways into garderobes now inaccessible.

The third floor also contained one room only, entered by a passage from the top of the vice from the hall dais. It has a large cupboard recess in the south wall, and opposite it two large windows with a good fireplace between, surmounted by an octagonal chimney, part of which remains. The windows and two others in the east and west walls respectively are tall openings with a transom. To the south of the west window, and a little below it, a trefoiled light is visible outside which may belong to a garderobe.

All the floors and the roof of the garderobe tower were of wood, and the masonry throughout is of excellent character.

To the east of the great chamber block there was originally, as shown by the

fireplaces and doors of intercommunication into the garderobe tower, another block of the same date. It was apparently not so deep from north to south, but owing to its replacement by later work it is impossible to say how far it extended eastwards. This later work is for the most part Elizabethan, and consists of a twin series of three stories of chambers with attics above. (Fig. 19.) The cross wall that divides these has at the south end a circular vice, partly projecting



Fig. 19. South view of buildings to east of great chamber block.

into the court, which gives access to all the floors. This block seems also to have superseded a fifteenth-century addition to the destroyed fourteenth-century chambers, but the evidence for this is not very strong.

The ground story west of the cross wall is about 33 feet long and somewhat irregular in plan, with an average width of about 16 feet. The west wall belongs to the fourteenth-century work, and has towards the north a doorway

and passage into the garderobe tower, and further south a plain fireplace with segmental head. The north wall has, under a queerly skewed arch, a pointed fifteenth-century window, and a row of corbels to carry the floor above. The east wall has now no openings, but towards its north end is a blocked square-headed doorway with plank lintel. The south wall contains a deep recess with a four-centred head, at the back of which has been inserted a square-headed Jacobean window of three lights in place of the original window. Across the south-east angle of the room is the doorway from the vice, which has likewise an entrance from the court.

The first-floor chamber above has both the west and north walls of fourteenth-century work. The former shows, in its south end, the chamfered jamb of the original entrance from the destroyed turret without, with its later blocking of fifteenth-century masonry. Further on is a corbelled out fireplace,^a plain and square-headed, but with a curiously joggled lintel; and to the north of it the segmental-headed passage of the entry from the great chamber. The passage has a drawbar hole behind the doorway.

The north wall has on the west a narrow doorway into a passage leading into the garderobe tower, and on the east an inserted square-headed window opening under a recess with a four-centred reararch, of the same date as the south and east walls. Most of the east wall is practically a corbelled chimney breast for the fireplaces on the other side. Its north end is pierced by a square-headed doorway, and in the south end is a carefully blocked four-centred doorway,^b set in a mass of inserted masonry. The south wall once had a wide flat-headed window, but this has long fallen out.^c The south-east corner, like that below, has across it the entrance from the vice.

The second floor reproduces practically all the features of the room below. Its fourteenth-century west wall has at the south end the blocked opening of the passage from the destroyed turret, and on the same level outside is a pointed niche that probably served as a lampstead to light the passage itself. The same wall also contains an original square-headed fireplace, and at its north end an entry from the ladies' solar. The north wall has a doorway leading into the garderobe tower and an inserted fifteenth-century window converted later into a square-headed one. The east wall had once a doorway in each end, but only

^a Under this a large corbel seems to have been cut away.

^b The blocking took place when a fireplace was inserted on the other side of the wall.

^c Lord Powis's drawings show it as of three transomed lights.

the northernmost is now open. The south end contains an entrance from the vice and a large flat-headed window of two pairs of uncusped lights.*

The attic story was lighted by a small two-light window on the south, and has at its north end a doorway communicating with the topmost room of the garderobe tower.

The rooms in the block under notice on the east side of the cross wall have the same rhomboidal plan as those on the other side, but are somewhat wider (21 feet) from east to west.

The ground story chamber has an entry from the vice in its south-west corner, and in its west wall an early-looking fireplace with corbelled-out head and mantleshelf. To the right of it is the blocked entry from the other side. The north wall contains two fifteenth-century windows like that further west, set in masonry of the same date. (See fig. 26.) The east wall is formed partly by the Norman bailey wall and partly by the rough blocking of a wide opening into the Norman corner tower. In this block is a rude doorway with wooden lintel. The south wall contains a wide flat-headed doorway from the court, with a splayed four-centred passage.

The first floor is entered from the vice at its south-west corner. Next to the entrance the west wall has an inserted fireplace with wooden lintel, and further on another but original low square-headed fireplace. At the end is a rough doorway. The north wall once had a pair of inserted windows with segmental reararches, but only the west jamb and the arch of the westernmost remain, and the original arrangement is obscured by later patchings. Lord Powis's drawings show the two windows replaced by a wide four-light transomed and square-headed window, probably of wood, corbelled out from the wall. This has long perished, but one of the corbels remains outside. The gap left by the destroyed windows is now crossed by supporting timbers held up by a roughly-built pier of masonry. The east wall has a small doorway (now blocked) through the blocking of the Norman tower opening, and towards its south end a deep recess with a square-headed and transomed four-light window at the back. The recess is now roofless and has a small cupboard in its north jamb. The south wall contains a tall segmental-headed recess with stone side seats, and at the back a two-light square-headed transomed window. At various points round the room are holes and plugs for fixing

* Only the middle mullion is left, and owing to its split and insecure condition the openings on each side have, at the writer's suggestion, been walled up recently to preserve what is left of the old work.

panelling, and Lord Powis's plan shows, as suggested by the fireplaces, that it was subdivided by partitions into a large northern apartment and two smaller southern chambers.

The second floor has in its west wall a nice re-used fireplace *temp. Edward IV.* with panelled jambs and curiously curved head, and to the south of it a poor and small fireplace with wood lintel, also an insertion. At the north end is a narrow doorway. The north wall contains a large inserted square-headed transomed window of five lights (see fig. 26), and the south wall a two-light window set in a deep recess, with side seats like that in the room below.¹ To the left of the window is the projecting brick chimney of a small and late corbelled-out fireplace. The three fireplaces show that the room was subdivided like that below.

The east wall has in its south end a deep and wide recess over that in the room beneath. This has on the north a jamb of a destroyed doorway, at the back a small square light, and on the south a doorway on to the rampart walk of the bailey wall. The north doorway opened into a vice leading up to the attic above. This had a fireplace in its west wall, and on the south a small two-light square-headed window and another single-light window.

The flues of the three inserted fireplaces in the west wall of the rooms just described run up into a picturesque stack formed of as many chimneys,² built of brick and still almost perfect (fig. 19), and both in front and rear the block just described is finished off with a battlemented parapet. All the floors and roofs are gone.

The early tower at the north-east corner,³ though flush with the castle wall on the north, projects beyond the bailey wall on the east. For half its original height it was at first open to the court, but the arch into it was soon closed with a rubble wall in which may still be seen two Norman loops, one above the other, showing that it was then divided into floors. In the fourteenth century the Norman arch was taken out, its jambs carried up higher, and a new arch thrown across at the second floor level. This in turn has been walled up.

The basement of the tower once had a late doorway from without in its south

¹ These windows differ so much from the others in the block as to raise a question as to their date. Their side seats and the following arches over the lintels are quite early features, but their square-headed lights have never been cusped, and the transom of the lower window is not an insertion. They may be the only unaltered windows of the block.

² The plan of each shaft is an eight-pointed star.

³ This tower is clearly identical with that called Pendover Tower in the legendary History of *Fulk FitzWarin.*

wall. It now contains a modern flight of steps down from an Elizabethan doorway opening from the top of the outer bailey wall, but Lord Powis's plan shows the tower as filled with a winding wooden staircase to the adjoining floors.

The first floor of the tower has in the north wall a mutilated Norman doorway opening from a wall passage running westwards, and lighted at the back by a loop. Later works have blocked the passage, which formed a continuation of the original rampart walk along the north side of the Castle. In the corner of the room opposite the Norman doorway is another, now walled up, which opened on to the walk along the top of the bailey wall.

The second floor has the Norman blocking and window on the west, a large Elizabethan four-light transomed window (now blocked inside) on the east, and on the south an Elizabethan fireplace and doorway.

There is also a third story to the tower, a fourteenth-century addition, accessible only by a doorway from the leads to the west. In its east wall is a good flat-headed window of two lights.

Beyond the fact that the blocks of buildings east of the great hall contain a series of living rooms and bedrooms, it is impossible to say anything further about their use. An inventory of the furniture, etc. in the Castle in 1650* gives the then inscriptions of all the rooms, but as these are clearly not named in any kind of order, it is useless to try and assign them. Lord Powis's plan names only the hall and the "council chamber" (or great chamber) east of it.

Returning now into the bailey, one other feature must be noticed, that immediately to the south of the block last described there is, against the bailey wall to the east, the weathering of the roof of another building that there abutted. It ends just where a continuation of the line of the great chamber block would have met the wall, and is suggestive of the fourteenth-century buildings having originally extended as far. Below the weathering is a blocked segmental-headed doorway from without.

Passing westwards to the further extremity of the hall block, it will be seen that there are evident traces of a two-storied range of buildings having extended from it against the castle wall as far as the thick wall enclosing the court of the great tower. In the list of Sir Henry Sidney's works is included the

making of a bayre howse of lime and stone upon the backside of the kitchin whin the said Castle wth divers and sondry chambers aswell for lodgiages as other offices.

* Printed in the Hon. R. H. Clive's *Documents connected with the History of Ludlow, and the Lords Marchers* (London, 1841), 41-58, from Hart. MS. 4898.

This "fayre howse" must have formed the larger part of the range in question. From the cutting away for it of a stringcourse against the wall on the south it was about 20 feet wide and 54 feet long, and abutted on the north against another building of the fourteenth century, which filled up the wedge-shaped corner between the hall block and the Norman outer wall. As the side of this building which faced the court has disappeared, not much can be said about it. Its ground story was apparently a cellar or store, entered and lighted from the court, and containing a stair to the upper story. This had in the north end of its west side a narrow square-headed doorway opening into a vice to the rampart walk and an adjoining garderobe. Further south is a deep recess with pointed head, originally with a window at the back, and just to the left of it a low square-headed fireplace. Beyond the fireplace are the toothings of the destroyed outer wall, and extending northwards from the same line is a row of corbels that carried the first floor. Against the solar block are the remains of a raking series of an upper row of corbels that helped to carry the roof. (Fig. 13.)

The extent of Sir Henry Sidney's "fayre howse" is marked by the plastering on the castle wall. The ground story had at its north end a fireplace with wooden lintel, and towards the south a three-light flat-headed window now blocked internally, but visible outside. In the south end was a doorway cut through the wall of the great tower court. The upper story had towards one end a fireplace, apparently Elizabethan, but narrowed by later brickwork, and further south another but inserted fireplace of poor character, and formed wholly of brick. The outer wall and divisions of Sidney's building have long disappeared.

Extending from it eastwards against the thick cross wall at its south end was a pentice or low building between it and the great kitchen. The area of this is now covered by the huge mound of the fallen kitchen chimney, and no investigation is possible save at great expense.

The great kitchen is a building of the same date as the hall, 31 feet long and 23½ feet wide, abutting on the earlier wall enclosing the great tower court, which forms its southern side. Its eastern side is standing to some height (see fig. 6), and contains a large square-headed and transomed window of two lights, rebated for shutters, and set under a widely splayed recess. To the south of this is a low flat-headed inserted Elizabethan window also of two lights. The north side has in its east end a broad pointed doorway from without, with a drawbar hole in the west jamb. Further west was originally a large window like that in the east side, but this was afterwards blocked and carried up higher on account of an added building outside.

The west side of the kitchen is much ruined, but contained the great fireplace. Another fireplace was added in the sixteenth century against the south side, and a pile of ovens in the south-west corner. Along the east side are some remains of masonry that probably carried a wooden dresser. In the north-west corner is an original skewed passage from a small outer doorway, and in the south-east corner an inserted doorway (probably Elizabethan) with wooden lintel. The stone-flagged floor remains throughout, but of the roof, which apparently ran gablewise from north to south, nothing is left.

Outside the kitchen to the north we uncovered the foundations of a building measuring $21\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $27\frac{1}{2}$ feet externally, divided by a cross wall into two unequal parts. Lord Powis's plan shows only the west wall of this, and as containing a doorway and a window to the larger room; and in the west end of the inner room the base of a large oven. The words "Old Pastry" written against this probably explain the former use of the building.

It will be seen from the plan that it is not unlikely that the east side of the building just noticed was traversed by a pentice from the kitchen to the hall steps.

The massive wall against which the kitchen is built extends some 16 or 17 feet eastwards of it, and then returns southwards as far as the Elizabethan block that formed the judges' lodgings. It has a uniform thickness of 5 feet and is apparently of early thirteenth-century date. The angle of it eastward of the kitchen is canted and has just to the west a mass of later masonry, about 6 feet wide, standing up against the wall buttress-wise, but without bond. West of this again is an interval of 5 feet 8 inches in which is set a wide round-headed doorway, having on the right a block of contemporary walling about 6 feet long. (See fig. 6.) The buttress-like mass to the east marks the cutting away of a similar block, and the two perhaps formed parts of the sides of a massive porch or tower covering the doorway between them. This was apparently taken down and the present condition established when the great kitchen was built in the fourteenth century.

The doorway just mentioned opens into the court of the great tower. This is roughly square in plan, but its south-east quarter is filled by the great tower itself.

The east wall of the court shows in its lower half part of a battering plinth of earlier date, and in its upper half, next the great tower, a skew passage from the judges' lodgings on to a destroyed balcony or gallery at the first floor level.

The north wall is that against which the kitchen is built. In its east end is

the segmental recess of the entrance doorway and beside it the doorway from the kitchen.

Further on is the bond of a destroyed wall, 1 foot 5 inches thick, which originally extended across to the corner of the great tower. After it was taken down a wide and shallow recess with a wooden lintel was made on its line at the ground level, either in Elizabethan or early Stewart days.



Fig. 20. West side of court of great tower.

Extending westwards from 15 feet 3 inches beyond the cross wall is the weathering of the roof of a building of the same age as the destroyed pentise on the kitchen side. It was apparently two stories high, but its extent westward is uncertain. It probably extended to the tower there.

The west wall of the court is also the outer wall of the Castle, and has in its north end a square-edged round-headed doorway into the Norman tower outside. (Fig. 20.) The interior of this tower is at present inaccessible. From the jointing

visible in the masonry it is clear that when the tower was first built the castle wall was only half its present height, and that the upper part of the tower had a wide opening towards the court. The tower itself is still complete, even to some of its battlements. South of the tower is a wide and deep Elizabethan recess, with wooden lintel and a small two-light window in the back, and above it another large inserted window, now blocked. Beyond these is a third inserted window, also blocked, above which starts the stone weathering of the gabled roof of a destroyed chamber that extended eastward. This was subsequently replaced by a two-storied building along the wall, in the upper part of which are the chases for the wall-pieces of its roof. It was lighted by the several windows just mentioned, and perhaps served as the brewhouse. The top of the wall retains most of its parapet, and has at each end a flight of steps and ascending battlements up to the towers between which it is built.

All the features just described are shown in Fig. 20.

The south side of the court is formed by a return of the Norman curtain wall towards the great tower. It has at its west end an opening 11 feet wide into the Norman corner tower. This opening is of the same width as the inside of the tower, and was originally higher; it is now spanned by a segmental fourteenth-century arch at about half its former height to allow of a room behind. (Fig. 21.) The basement contains the remains of a huge oven or drying-kiln, built of stone slabs with a domed roof. The front, which has been torn away, contained the flue, and as this is carried up through the thickness of the later arch above, the oven must be of the same date.

Over the oven was a room with a fireplace and loop in its north wall, and in the south-west corner a Norman doorway into a garderobe with wall passage running northwards. A doorway into this passage from the curtain wall is now blocked by an added staircase on the parapet walk. This stair led up to another room in the upper story of the tower, which is a fourteenth-century addition. This room has a shouldered doorway into a garderobe over that below, and beside it, also in the west wall, a loop. Another loop commands the stair to the north, and there is a third looking south. To the east of the oven tower the outer parapet of the wall is perfect all along up to the great tower, but towards the corner tower it has a raking ascent to protect a flight of steps up to the topmost room in the tower itself. (Fig. 21.) There remains also against the tower a fragment of the inner parapet, to its full height of $6\frac{1}{4}$ feet, corbelled out so as to allow of a passage between it and the steps from the parapet walk into the middle chamber of the tower. These features are all of the fourteenth century.

In the north-west corner of the court is a well, 7 feet 6 inches in diameter, now partly filled up. It was probably covered by a wellhouse, but of this there are no remains.

The great tower, or keep, which occupies the south-east quarter of the court, was considered by Mr. G. T. Clark to be "one of the most curious and perplexing Norman keeps now standing," and he concludes his description of it by saying: "Of course all this is a matter of opinion only, the alterations having been so



FIG. 23.—TOWER, ETC., IN COURT IN GREAT TOWER.

great, and of so complete a character, that it is difficult to form even a theory concerning them."

That the tower is "a most curious and perplexing" structure there can be no question, but its story is not so difficult that it cannot be read, especially with the aid of more accurate plans than the poor versions in outline given by Mr. Clark.

The tower is four stories high, and with the exception of its northern battlements is standing complete to its full height.

The lowest story consists of a lofty vaulted basement 20 feet high, entered by a recessed plain and heavy four-centred doorway, and a descending flight of rough modern steps. To the right of the doorway is a window of the same date, also deeply recessed, consisting of two square-headed lights, once barred and shuttered, but with no traces of glazing. Both doorway and window are shown in Plate XXXIX.



Fig. 32. Remains of wall tracery, &c., in basement of great tower.

On entering the basement several perplexing features present themselves. The south end is a build-up, with rough blocks of masonry in the angles; the west wall is mostly patchwork; and the east wall contains a mysterious wall passage and is decorated with a curious early Norman arcade. There are also difficulties with regard to the vault.

The early wall arcade gave the first clue to the story of the tower. It consists of two arches only, but these are obviously part of a series that extended further north. (Fig. 22.) It follows therefore that the present north wall of the basement belongs to a rebuilding of the whole of the north front of the tower, a condition of things that is perfectly evident externally now that the ivy has been stripped from the walls. The question that next suggested itself was where could the original north wall have stood? Here again the arcade helped. Had it been of three arches the new wall would hardly have been built where it is, but had there been four arches the old wall would have been quite clear of the new. This seemed to be so obviously the case that the writer obtained permission from Lord Powis to excavate for its foundations, and with immediate and satisfactory results. Just underground was a broad mass of masonry parallel with the tower and 31 feet long, with the base of a blocked doorway and several ascending steps at its eastern end in a return of the wall southwards underneath the present front. (Fig. 23.) The western end showed a similar return under the newer work. (Plate XXXIX.)

Both these return walls were $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick. The north wall, which was only $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, was subsequently found to be largely formed of the blocking of a wide arch of two orders, that originally opened into the tower. This blocking formed part of a much larger work extending northwards of the tower for about 7 feet and eastwards and westwards for about 10 feet, faced externally by a bold battering plinth.

These discoveries, and the re-examination of the tower which they necessitated, made the story quite clear.

The basement was originally the chief entrance into the Castle, and consisted of a T-shaped structure projecting from the line of the bailey wall, with a broad south front $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet across, and a vaulted passage extending inwards with a total length of $52\frac{1}{2}$ feet. (Plate XL.) The wide arch of entry has long been destroyed and the opening walled up, but part of one of its chamfered imposts remains on the west. Behind it was a porch $15\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and about $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep, but the end walls have been roughly refaced nearly up to the top in the same plane as the gate-hall walls. In the north-east angle is the respond shaft of a destroyed arcade of two arches in the end wall, and beside it a small square-headed doorway into the wall passage. The door of this was single and protected by a drawbar, but the southern jamb has been destroyed. The gate-hall was $29\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, with an arch between it and the porch, but all traces of this have been obliterated, except a shaft on the east that carried the outer order. For 8 feet from the arch there is on each side a strip of plain ashlar, against which the inner doors folded



LUDLOW CASTLE. EXCAVATION OF 1903. SHOWING FORMER EXTENSIONS OF GREAT TOWER.

Published by the Survey of Antiquities of Ireland, 1906.

back, but beyond, the walls were relieved by arcades about 8 feet high, each of four round-headed arches, square-edged, and carried by bold detached shafts with curious cushion capitals without any abacus, not unlike those in the inner bailey chapel.* (Fig. 22.) Of the eastern arcade two arches and part of the third are left, and its northernmost base was found outside. (Fig. 23.) Of the western arcade only part of the first arch is left, the rest having been destroyed and the wall neatly made good when the new north wall was built. In the ashlar



Fig. 23. Part of first staircase of great tower and respond base of wall arcade of original gate passage.

walling south of the eastern arcade is a square-headed doorway into the wall passage. (Fig. 22.) The door was hung within, and could be secured on the inside by a bolt or bar. The passage, which is only $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, is faced throughout with ashlar and roofed with stone slabs. As will be seen from the plan (Plate XL.), it is practically a way from the gate-hall to the outer porch

* Similar arcades, characterized by the same rude cushion capitals without upper members, exist in a tower chapel in Richmond Castle, Yorks, of a date not later, probably, than 1086.

round the doors when shut.* This unusual arrangement seems to have served the same end as the later wicket, without the disadvantage of being rushed or burst open. It could also be used as a sally port. The north end of the gate passage was an open archway of $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet span, and of two orders outside. And the south end no doubt had a similar archway, but defended by double doors inside.

The gate passage was probably intended to have been covered originally by a semicircular barrel vault, but not until a later period, when the two ends were walled up and the passage converted into a prison chamber, was a pointed barrel vault inserted with square openings in it from the chamber above. Through these prisoners could be let down with ropes, as well as food and drink for their sustenance. At a still later date, when the north wall of the tower was taken or fell down, the northern part of the vault came down with it. During the subsequent repairs a transverse arch was built for its security against the retarding portion, and when the new wall was carried up the vault was again completed.

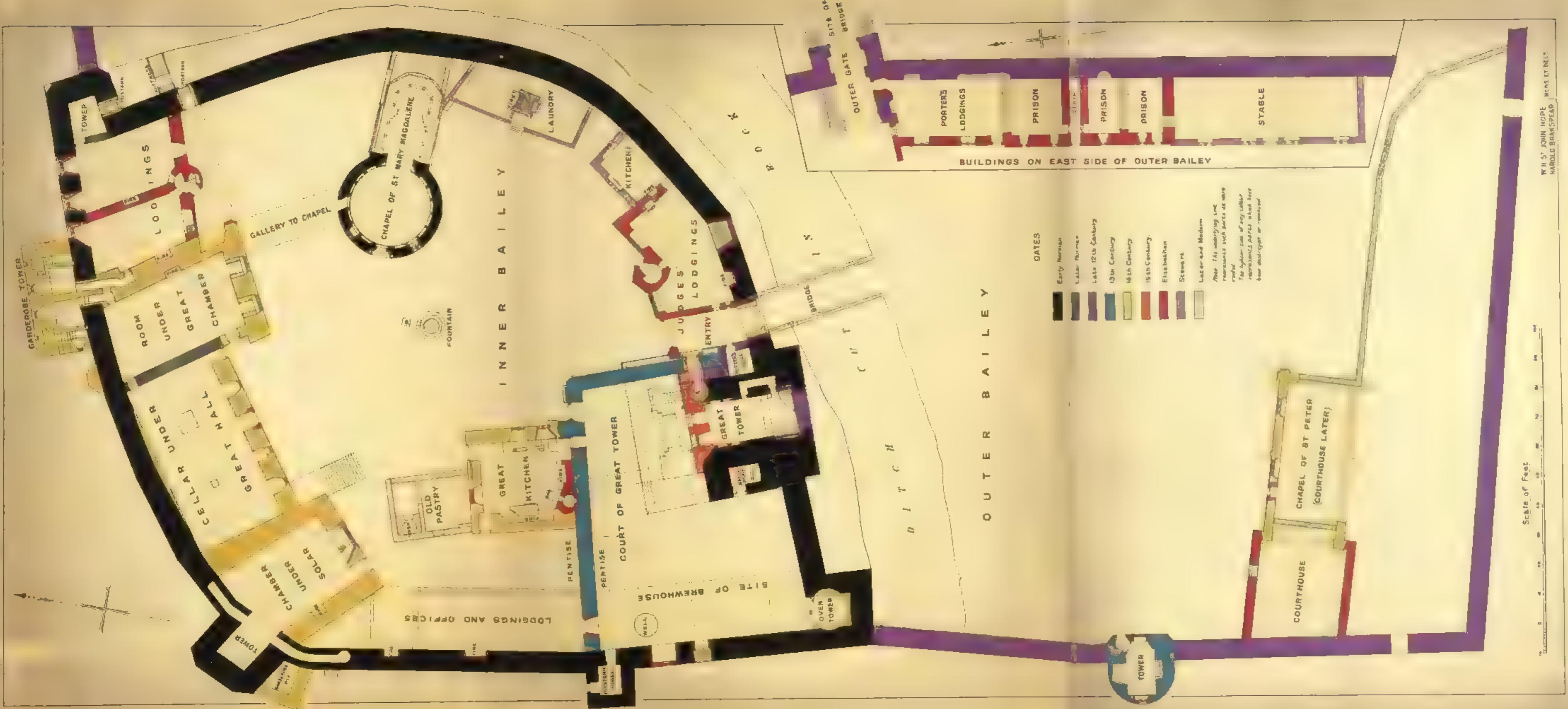
After the rebuilding of the north wall the basement seems to have been continued in use as a prison, but it was now divided into two floors. The upper was on the level of the new doorway, and to carry it rough masses of masonry were built at the south end* and in the eastern wall arcade. (See fig. 22.) The hole opposite the latter was made for the same purpose. The lower floor could not have been much more than 6 feet high. It was lighted on the south by a loop (now blocked) pierced through the blocking of the old entrance, and on the north by a narrow loop beneath the new window. How it was entered there is nothing to show, but probably by a trapdoor and descending steps from the floor above.

On the west side of the basement is an added block of slightly later date of about 10 feet projection, built into the angle of the T-shaped front. It was probably an afterthought. Into it a modern entrance has been forced which opens into a large garderobe pit spanned by a strong transverse semicircular arch springing from rude imposts. The pit does not, however, seem to have been utilized until a quite late date, and then only to a small extent.

On the eastern side of the tower the added masonry with the battering plinth is returned along it for 26 feet, as far as a small vaulted chamber of the same date, described below.

* The same principle exists in the magnificent late fourteenth-century gatehouse of Thornton Abbey, Lincolnshire.

* There is still embedded in this against the outer wall a massive beam, one foot in depth, with the broken ends of the timbers that carried the floor.



100

1000



The conversion of the old basement of the tower from a gatehouse into a prison, and the addition of the extra thickening round it, are evidently works coincident with the addition of the outer bailey, and the making of a new entrance into the inner bailey beside the converted tower. But the added thickening not only blocked the old archway from the tower basement, but the smaller doorway east of it. This opened on to a straight stair leading directly up to the first floor of the tower, where the continuation of it may still be seen. Some other way up



Fig. 24. Doorway of entrance into the great tower.

must therefore have been made in its stead. This appears to have started on the outer edge of the battering plinth, close to its western end, and to have ascended southwards along the west face of the tower basement.* (See Plate XXXIX.) The stair must have stopped at a landing against the garderobe addition, since there is no doorway into the latter, and then turned at a right angle through a new doorway in the tower wall. But as this part of the tower has disappeared in the later rebuild-

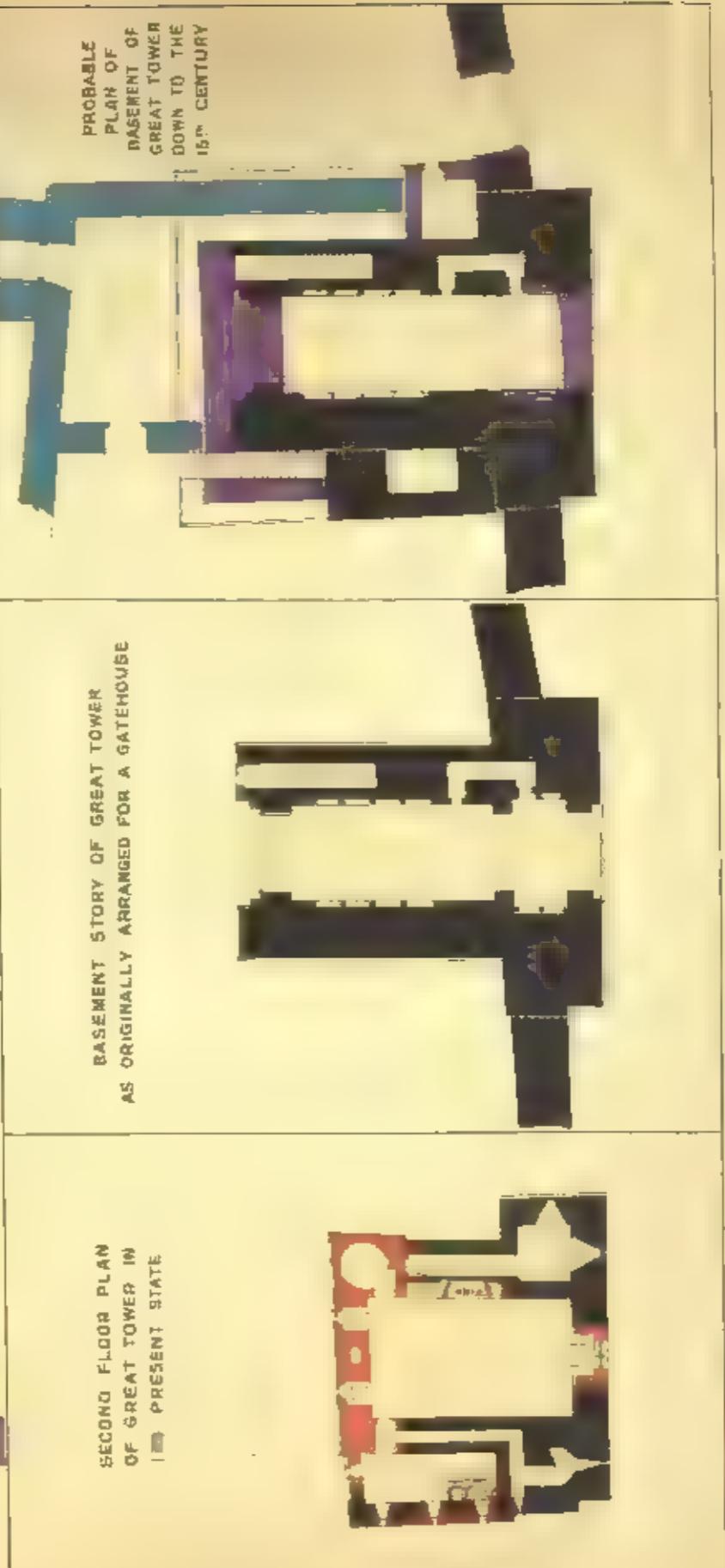
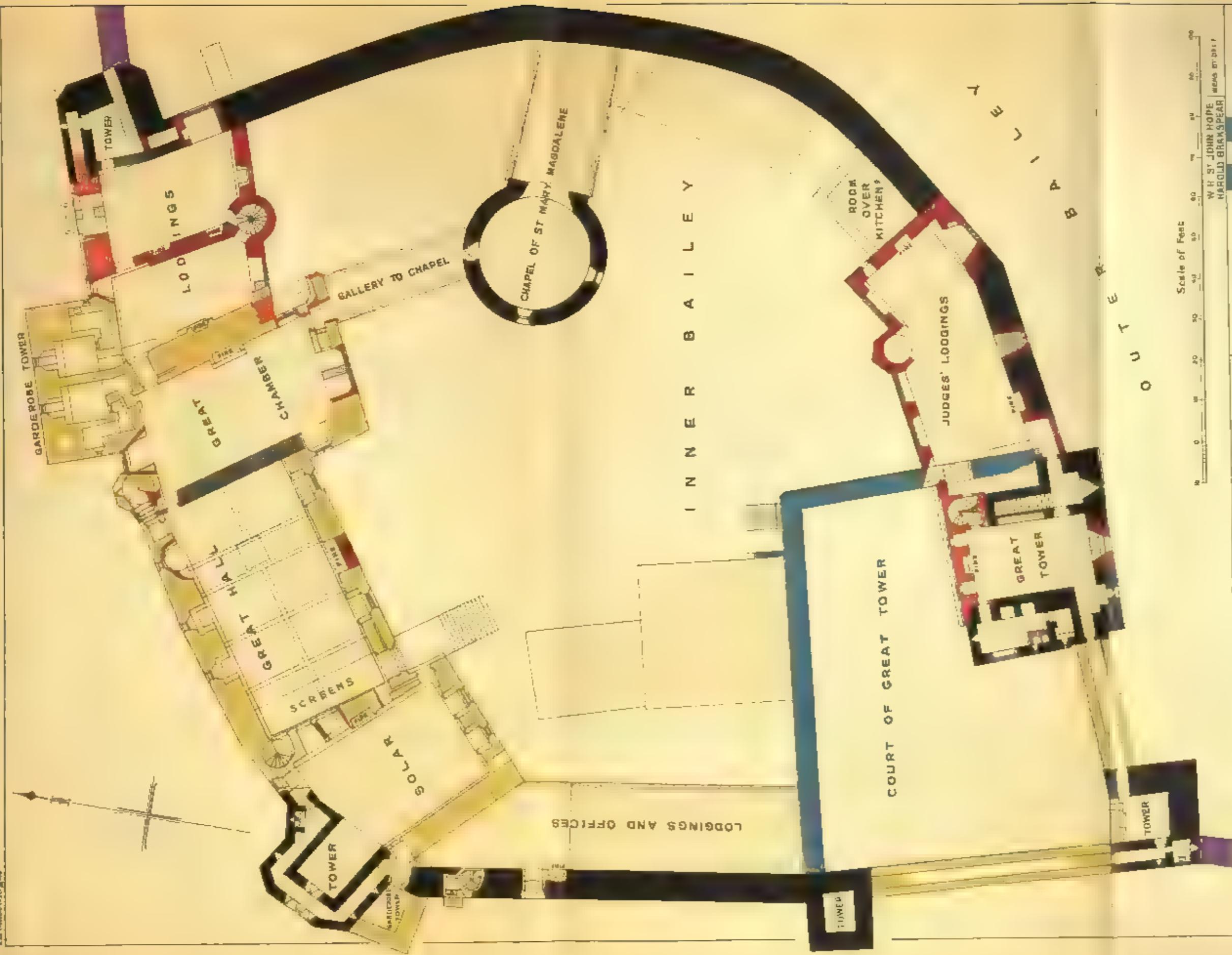
* It is possible that there was a similar staircase on the eastern face of the great tower leading up to the rampart walk of the bailey wall.

ing, the whole question is literally in the air. How far the battering plinth and the wall above it were carried up is another question that can not now be solved. But possibly the work never got any higher than we found it, except on the west where the new stairs were. What is certain is, that at some date quite early in the thirteenth century the thick wall was built which encloses the court of the great tower, and on the east side this is built right on top of the battering plinth and extended with it as far as the porter's lodge. (See Plate XXXIX.) Moreover, as has already been shown, there was a cross wall from its western return to the great tower. This cross wall met the latter exactly on the east side of the new stairs, and probably formed a defence to them on that side. It was no doubt pierced by a doorway giving access to the part of the court which contained the staircase and the equally important wellhouse.

From this somewhat lengthy attempt to explain what are certainly a number of very interesting problems it is time to resume the examination of the tower.

The first floor is now reached by a stair or vice in the north-east angle, approached by a short passage with rubble vault from a handsome entrance doorway outside pierced through the wall of the great tower court. (Fig. 24.) This doorway is four-centred with continuous mouldings and surmounted by a band of quatrefoiled panels. Above this was a pediment of some sort, now gone, carried by bold square shafts with sides relieved by sunk panels and blank shields. The vice passage traverses the remains of the added masonry on the east face of the tower, which, with the porter's lodge beyond, supported a chamber of some kind into which there was an entrance from the vice itself.

The first floor is entered a little higher up by a square-headed doorway from the vice, and originally included the later second floor above, with which it formed a lofty hall, $29\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, with steeply pitched roof. The doorway is inserted within a tall opening, $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet to the springers, with a segmental arch, apparently of the fourteenth century. Of the same date as the arch is the blocking of a broad Norman recess beyond it, the south jamb of which, with ashlar quoins, is standing for 17 feet up. The depth of the recess is uncertain, but it probably extended back into the thickness of the wall some 5 or 6 feet, over the old staircase beneath it. The Norman walling that forms the rest of this east side has in it a plain round-headed doorway from a vaulted lobby, about $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet square, outside. The lobby floor is at its original level, but owing to the difference in height of the projected barrel vault of the tower basement and the inserted pointed one, the sill of the doorway is now 18 inches below the first-floor level. For some reason the arch of the doorway has been altered and





the jambs cut away.* In the south side of the lobby was originally a narrow round-headed loop with widely splayed jambs, but this has been widened to twice its old width; the east jamb cut back and the sill lowered to make a seat. Opposite the window is a tall round-headed recess or panel, within which is the head[†] of the ascending staircase from the original entrance into the tower. The staircase was probably walled up on its disuse, but is now open again, and, as the steps are all perfect, can be descended as far as the later vice which intercepts it midway. The east side of the lobby is a round-headed doorway[‡] from the rampart walk of the bailey wall. The lobby vault, which has no ribs, and the Norman walling retain much of their original plastering.

Returning into the main chamber it will be seen that the south wall originally contained two Norman windows, of the same form and fashion as a perfect one in another lobby to the west. But their place is now taken by a wide late Tudor opening with wooden lintel. The west wall, which is Norman throughout, has at its south end a tall round-headed arch into the lobby just mentioned. This measures $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and has an unribbed vault. In the south side is a tall and deep recess with a narrow window in the back, the opening of which was closed by a shutter, but the lower part of it has been walled up. To the west is a passage through the thick wall from a doorway opening from the top of the bailey wall.

The remainder of the west side of the main chamber is plain, save for a hole knocked through it from a recess on the other side, and has at its north end a square-headed fifteenth-century doorway into a bedchamber.

The north end of the room is all of the fifteenth-century rebuilding, and has a low fireplace in the middle between two deep window recesses with four-centred heads, each with a square-headed light at the back (fig. 25); the sills of these are flat to serve as seats. The lights were barred and shuttered, and have no glass grooves. The room was 10 feet high with a wooden ceiling which formed the floor of the room above.

The bedchamber measures about 17 feet in length by some 8 feet in width, and is all of the Norman period; it is still covered by its original unribbed rubble vault of two bays. On the north is a round-headed loop widely splayed. The west wall had two similar loops, but the northernmost has been widened out into a three-light window with wooden mullions and lintel of seventeenth-century date.

* It is shown as built up in Lord Powis's plan.

† The east jamb has been cut down in late times.

‡ The south jamb has been cut down into a chimney.

The other loop is covered by a projecting mass of masonry containing shafts from two garderobes above. The east wall retains the original round-headed door passage, and south of it two deep round-headed recesses, each 2 feet above the floor and 5 feet 9 inches high. In the south end of the room is a shouldered doorway with tall round-headed reararch into a vaulted chamber with a wardrobe at the further end. To the right of the wardrobe is a recessed seat, and over it a small loop.

The second floor of the tower has been formed in the upper part of the original main floor, when the north wall was rebuilt, by the insertion of a wooden floor. Like the room below it was 10 feet high, and entered by a square-headed doorway from the vice at the north-west corner. In the middle of the east wall is a plain fireplace inserted in the fourteenth-century blocking of the wide Norman recess. The south wall contains, within a wide four-centred recess with stone side seats, a tall square-headed window of two trefoiled lights. This was barred and shuttered, but has no glass grooves. The north wall has two square-headed windows (fig. 25), each set in the back of a deep recess with segmental arch and stone side seats. The west wall is plain Norman work, but has at its north end an inserted doorway. This opens into a room about 7 feet wide and 20 feet long over the bedchamber below, with an inserted square-headed light to the north, and three loops, two square, the southernmost round-headed, on the west. The weathering on the end walls shows that the room originally had a lean-to roof. The south-west corner of the room is now intruded upon by the masonry block of two wardrobe shafts from a chamber above.

Opening out of the left jamb of the doorway into the room just described is a passage nearly 2 feet wide running southwards through the thickness of the wall for 19 feet.* It then returns at a right angle for 8½ feet, with a small loop at the far end, and opens out southwards into a wider passage leading to a vice up to the top of the tower, now blocked; it appears to have been the only way originally by which the chamber was reached.

The third floor, like those below, is of Norman work on three sides, with a rebuilt north end. It was originally an open court which enclosed and concealed the high-pitched roof of the Norman tower, the weathering of which is still visible on the south wall and along the east and west sides. On the rebuilding of the north end it was converted into a room. It was entered from the new vice by a four-centred doorway, and has in the north wall two

* In the earlier state of the tower this passage must have extended further north, and would perhaps joined to another in the thickness of the north wall.

windows like those in the room below, but with trefoiled instead of square-headed lights. (Fig. 25.) In the east wall is a fireplace in a projecting block of the same date as the north wall, and in the south wall is a two-light window like that below. The only opening on the west is a doorway at the north end into a garderobe chamber with two garderobes in the south-west corner and a broad pointed window in the north end. This chamber was added when the north front was rebuilt.

In the thickness of the wall forming the east side of the second and third floors there must be a wall passage leading to a chamber, now inaccessible, over the vaulted lobby at the head of the original staircase. The existence of this chamber is proved by the blocked loops that are still visible externally which lighted it on the south and east. How the passage to this chamber was reached must remain a matter of conjecture, but possibly by a vice from above in the destroyed north-east corner.

The present rampart level of the tower has a square turret at each corner. That to the north-east contains the later vice, but has lost its top. The south-east turret is mostly Norman and retains much of its battlement, as do the parapets of the east and south walls, but the crenels have lost their copings. Owing to the height of the south-east turret it had a stone stair up to it from the east wall. The corresponding south-west turret is also Norman and in much the same state, but its battlements are mostly modern. The top, which is surmounted by a flag-staff, is still accessible by a restored flight of steps from the rampart of the west wall, and from it there is a magnificent view of the surrounding country, barred only by the hills to the south-west. The north-west turret has lost its parapet, and is otherwise mutilated. It is of the same date as the rebuilt north front.

Externally the great tower shows on its west face: (1) at the base the opening broken through into the garderobe pit; (2) on the first floor the seventeenth-century three-light window of the bedchamber, with a blocked loop beyond, and next to the angle the garderobe loop with its shoot beneath. At this level too is the shouldered doorway of the entry into the tower from the rampart walk, with curiously constructed head. The second story shows the modernized openings of the upper chamber windows.

The north front has lately been freed from the mantle of ivy that has concealed most of its architectural features for so long. (Fig. 25.) It can now be seen to be of two dates: a strip to the west from ground to summit being for the most part Norman; while the main portion for its whole height belongs to a late fifteenth-century rebuilding, when the old front was taken down and a new one built up

12 feet further south. For what reason this was done, and why the tower was so reduced in size, are questions still awaiting solution.* The new face has at its foot



Fig. 25. Upper part of north front of great tower.

* In the legendary *History of Fulk FitzWarin*, in the account of an early siege of the Castle it is stated: "E lo huit tour q'est en le tierce bayl do chastel, qe fort e bien oyree fust qe home ne envoit. Il cele oure nul plus fort ne moylour, fust de grant partie abatu, a cele bayle a poy tote destruyt." Thomas Wright, *The History of Fulk Fitz Warine* (London, Warton Club, 1855), 51. This event is believed to have occurred in the latter part of the reign of King Henry II, but if the tower were really partly destroyed then, it is difficult to suppose that it was not rebuilt until late in the fifteenth century. Possibly the added late twelfth-century work on the north side belongs to the repair.

the doorway and window of the basement, and a little higher up, to the east, a square-headed Elizabethan opening from the vice on to the destroyed wooden balcony. Above this is a succession of square-headed loops lighting the vice. The main windows consist of pairs of square-headed lights to the first and second floors, and the taller cusped pair that lighted the uppermost floor. In the Norman strip there is an original loop on the first floor, an inserted square-headed light on the second, and a larger light on the third, set apparently in walling of its own date, extending from just below it up to the top of the turret. This should all be contemporary with the rebuilt section of the front. (See fig. 25.)

The east face is covered as to its lower part by the porter's lodge and the block north of it, up to and including the porch to the vice. The first floor shows a square-headed door from the vice into the former room over this block, and to the extreme south the doorway from the old rampart walk into the tower.⁴ Above this doorway is one of the blocked loops that lighted the walled-up chamber, and further north, near the vice, may be seen one side of an inserted loop or window which must have been in the back of the destroyed fourteenth-century recess. The main portion of the east face shows the wall plastering and roof lines of the Elizabethan lodging that abutted on it.

The south or principal front of the tower (see fig. 5) has at its foot part of a bold battering plinth and stringcourse, interrupted by the rock on which the tower stands. Above this the front is divided by (i) a half hexagonal stringcourse and (ii) a set-off into three unequal stages. The lowest stage, which has a slight batter, shows plainly the filled-up opening of the original entrance, but the arch stones have been removed and the blocking bonded into the jambs. In the blocking are two small square-headed two-light seventeenth-century windows, now walled up, which once lighted the two floors in the tower basement.

Upon the first stringcourse stood originally the widely chamfered Norman loop of the staircase lobby on the first floor, but when this was widened it was likewise lengthened, and now comes below the stringcourse. The middle part of the wall is much patched. It has, resting on the string, the low Elizabethan or Stewart window of the first floor, now a mere hole, but once of two lights with separate heads turned in brick. Just to the west of it may be traced one jamb of one of the pair of Norman windows destroyed on its insertion. These were evidently like the perfect lobby window still further west. It shows a plain

⁴ This doorway was shouldered, with a horizontal lintel and a semicircular tympanum above, but these have been broken out.

square-edged round-headed opening recessed within a square-edged arch carried by bold jamb shafts, built in courses, with cushioned capitals with proper *abaci*. Over the middle window are the inserted fifteenth-century windows of the second and third floors. To the east of them is a small square-headed blocked loop of the walled-up chamber, and on the extreme west a tall round-headed slit that lights the vice in the south-west angle. The upper of the two fifteenth-century windows cuts through the set-off that divides the second and third stages. The latter has no other openings in it.

An unusual dignity is imparted to this front of the tower by the ashlar facing from ground to summit, and by the fortunate preservation of the turrets and parapets. (Fig. 5.)

Before leaving the tower it will be well to summarize the various points in its story. First, there can be little doubt, from the position of the original staircase, that it began, probably during the last quarter of the eleventh century, as a T-shaped gatehouse. Above the vaulted entry there was evidently to have been a chamber, but the difference in the architectural details shows that after the building of the basement other works in the Castle, such as St. Mary Magdalene's chapel, the original hall, etc. were taken in hand before the upper works of the gatehouse were commenced. It was then decided to carry it up as a tower, and this necessitated also the addition on the west. These further works are probably not later than about 1130. Some fifty years later the passage through the tower was converted into a prison, a new entrance into the bailey made beside it, and the chemise wall with the battering plinth begun. In the third quarter of the fifteenth century the north wall was taken down and rebuilt, and the tower thus brought to its present form.*

We may still agree with Mr. G. T. Clark that it is "one of the most curious Norman keeps now standing," but I trust it is no longer one of the most perplexing.

There is one other feature in the interior of the Castle which remains to be mentioned, and that is the conduit.

The last of the recorded works of Sir Henry Sidney in the Castle is

Item for making of a Conduyt of lead to convey the water into the said Castle of Ludlowe the space of a myle and more in length for making of a howse of lyne and ston

* In the legendary History of *Fulk FitzWarin* the keep is clearly identical with "le plus hault tour q'est en la terce baile del chastel, qe or est apelé de plasours Mortemer. E pur sole reson qd le nom de Mortemer, qe uns des Mortemers fust loyz bone piece en garde." Thomas Wright, *The History of Fulk Fitz Warin* 34.

being the ledg and for a goodly larde founteyne of lyme stone and ledg wth her armes and divers other Armes therupon and for conveyeng of the water in ledg from the same founteyne into the garden and divers other offices wthin the howse, and from them into the Castle streete wthin the said Towne of Ludlowe and there making of a founteyne of lyme and stone.

There can be little doubt that the fountain with the Queen's and other arms stood somewhere within the inner bailey, but it is not shown on any of the old plans, and there are no remains above ground. During our excavations search was made for its site, which was soon discovered about midway between the kitchen and the chapel, and as nearly as practicable in the middle of the bailey. Here we laid open the foundations of a stone structure, octagonal without, but circular within, about $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet in external diameter, and raised upon an octagonal step. A shallow drain led northwards from it for about 4 feet, apparently to carry off the overflow. Nothing of the superstructure was found, and it is needless to say that the lead pipes had all been taken up. Where the lead conduit was whence the water came is not recorded.

It now remains to examine briefly the external features of that portion of the inner bailey which also forms the outer defence of the Castle. The whole of this stands along the edge of a rugged rocky cliff of varying height, and for most of the year bright with flowering plants and green with bushes, the effect of which adds largely to the beauty and dignity of the grey walls above.* It will be convenient to begin with the Norman tower on the north-east. For most of its height this is a good example of its date, and carefully built of coursed rubble with ashlar quoins, which are boldly chamfered on the outer angles. The lower half is plain without openings, but higher up is a blocked loop, and to the left of it another, which has been widened eastwards. The topmost stage is fourteenth-century work, and shows to the north a square-headed window of two uncusped pointed lights. West of this is a small square light, apparently of a garderobe, and below it a somewhat large opening which may be the shoot thereof.

From the Norman tower there extends westward for some 30 feet a lofty embattled wall four or five stories high, pierced by many windows of divers sorts and dates which have already been described in connexion with the chambers they lighted. (Fig. 26.) Only the lowest stage is Norman; the rest of the walling dates from the fourteenth century. Next comes the fine and imposing

* The north front is well shown on Plate XL.

mass of the garderobe tower, projecting well outwards and rising sturdily in front from a bold battering plinth. It is fortunately complete for its whole



Fig. 20. Exterior view of garderobe tower (from the east) and of other buildings to east of the same, height. (Fig. 26, and Plate XXXV.) The east face shows at the base, side

by side, the lower openings of two garderobe shoots with shouldered heads, but the northernmost opening is carefully walled up. Higher up may be seen the two little trefoiled loops that light the garderobes on the first and second floors of the tower, and right at the top is the long transomed window of the uppermost chamber. The north front is divided by sets-off into three unequal stages. The lowest stage has at the base, and partly cutting into the battering plinth, the lower ends of two garderobe shoots like those on the east face. Higher up are the two trefoiled lights of the ground story chambers, and right and left of them the small loops that air the garderobes. The easternmost light has in late days been cut down to make a doorway on to a little wooden balcony, the holes for which remain. Above the first set-off are two trefoiled lights like those below, belonging to the first-floor chambers within. Just above the second set-off is a row of four windows. The outermost of these are two trefoiled lights to garderobes, and the others square-headed windows of unequal widths, the westernmost being a mere loop. Above are the two long transomed windows of the chamber in the top of the tower. The western face is practically like the eastern, with some small variations in the disposition of the garderobe loops.

A few feet to the west of the garderobe tower there projects a half-octagonal stair turret, lighted by small square-headed loops, and carrying at the top a rectangular look-out. (Plate XXXV.) The intervening strip of wall contains two windows, one above the other. The lower is the Elizabethan two-light window of the great chamber; the upper, a tall fourteenth-century transomed light with trefoiled head under a round-headed arch, which belongs to the chamber above. West of the turret* is a long stretch of wall, Norman as to its lower half, and of late thirteenth-century work above, and showing there the three northern windows of the great hall, and towards the west the windows belonging to the solar block. The wall here is higher owing to its being carried up nearly to the same height as the north-west turret of the hall. Across the corner between this strip of wall and the Norman north-west tower, which covers here the angle of the castle wall, a four-centred Norman arch is thrown to carry a garderobe on the upper floor, and in the underside is the shoot therefrom. On the east face of the tower is a loop that lights the wall passage to the garderobe, and above it, one over the other, are two fourteenth-century lights belonging to the tower chambers. The lower of these has a trefoiled ogee head; the upper is shouldered. The north face of the tower for good part of its height, that is, the Norman

* Close to the turret is the two-light Elizabethan window that lights the passage into it.

part, has canted corners, but the added fourteenth-century top story is set back from this, and so the tower looks as if covered by a half-hexagon projection. The only openings on this face are the inserted trefoiled light of the wall passage, and a shouldered fourteenth-century light in the flat wall above.



Fig. 27. Exterior view looking north of west side of inner bailey.

The west face of the tower is covered by a fourteenth-century garderobe addition, rising to the same height from a battering plinth laid upon the rock. In the front plinth is a small opening, now blocked, for drainage. In both the faces of this addition are loops airing the garderobe chambers within. (Fig. 27.)

From the north-west tower the castle wall alters its direction and extends in a straight line for 92½ feet to the postern tower. The lower part throughout is of Norman date. Toward the north end, at some height up, is a corbelled-out projection for a garderobe,* and beneath it a buttress-like mass, which probably contains the shaft from it. (Fig. 27.) A little further south is a square opening with iron cross bars, of the fourteenth century, but blocked within by boards and stones. Some way further along is another blocked window, Elizabethan or Stewart, of three lights under a square head. Between this and the postern tower the wall face is much patched, and may have contained two more windows, one close up to the tower.

The postern tower (Fig. 28) is a square Norman one, but its upper part is either a raising or a rebuilding. In the north face, at some little height from the present ground level, is a square-edged round-headed postern doorway. There are no other openings in the tower save a loop in the west face. Both the tower and the wall north of it retain a good deal of their old embattled parapets.

From the postern tower is another straight stretch of wall extending for 81½ feet to the southern side of the oven tower. The lower half and the oven tower itself are of Norman date. The upper part of the wall is fourteenth-century work, and retains its original parapet, which takes up to the towers at either end. There are no visible openings in the wall except two small two-light Elizabethan windows near the base of the northern part.

The oven tower (Fig. 27) has a projecting garderobe with a shoot in its lower part corbelled out near its south-east angle. Beside it is a small loop. Over the projection is the shoot of the upper garderobe, and north of it on a higher level is another loop. The battlements of the tower have fallen.

The remaining features of the west side of the Castle have already been described in connexion with the outer bailey.

One other point must be mentioned. In the oft-quoted list of Sir Henry Sidney's works is

Item for making of a mayre and lardg seate upon the north side of the said Castle wth a howre over the same together with a lardg walke inclosed wth Pall and Tymber.

Some remains of this may still be seen, a little to the east of the north-east tower, where a rocky platform has been left for the summer house and pleasure which the entry suggests.

* Just to the west of this garderobe is the slit of the window that gives it.



Fig. 26.—Postern tower on west side of inner bailey.

It will be seen that Ludlow Castle differs from the majority of early fortresses, in that it never had any previous earthen defences, nor any original keep or great tower.

The absence of earthen defences is paralleled by other castles founded on the rock, *e.g.* Exeter, the Peak, and Richmond (Yorks.), where the material taken out of the excavated ditches has been utilized, as at Ludlow, to make walls and towers instead of banks and mounts.

The three castles just named also furnish, like Ludlow, early instances where the original entrance is or was through a gateway, and there was at first no keep. At Exeter no keep was ever built. The tower at the Peak was built in 1176-7, in a corner remote from the entrance; and that at Richmond, completed in 1171-2, stands directly in front of the original gatehouse, which thus became useless. Another example like Ludlow is furnished by the castle of Newark, the work of Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, between 1123 and 1139, where the entrance is also through the basement of the tower.

As regards the history of Ludlow Castle, it has been shown conclusively by the Rev. R. W. Eyton,¹ that the account of its foundation by Earl Roger of Montgomery can not be upheld; first, because of the untrustworthiness of the *History of Fulk FitzWarin*² which asserts the fact, and secondly, because Earl Roger had not an acre in this part of Shropshire whereon to found a castle.

Mr. Eyton's own views are, however, themselves open to question.

By a process of elimination he shows³ that none other of the lords of the surrounding lands could have founded Ludlow Castle than Roger de Lacy; on the grounds that "he had no other Castle in Shropshire, that Ludlow was environed on the north-west by his enormous Manor of Stanton, [and] that his interest in the adjoining Hundred of Culvestan was equalled by no other."

But in order to account for the absence of any mention of Ludlow in the *Domesday Survey*, Mr. Eyton has endeavoured to identify it with a Herefordshire manor of Lude, then held by Roger de Lacy of Osbern FitzRichard, the lord of Richard's Castle, who in turn held it of the king.

The objection that future lords of Richard's Castle never appear as seignorial

¹ *Antiquities of Shropshire* (London, 1857), v. 234.

² T. Wright, *The History of Fulk FitzWarin*, 3; and Rolls Series 66, p. 279.

³ *Op. cit.* v. 235.

lords of Ludlow, Mr. Eyton meets by supposing that Osbern FitzRichard lost the seigniory, either by exchange, or by *force majeure*, or by the will of the Crown, and because Lude was Ludlow.

For Ludlow itself he also claims an early origin from the fact that certain Saxon coins are stamped *Lnd*, *Luda*, or *Lude*.^a

But our Fellow, Mr. H. A. Grueber,^b tells me that he does not think there is any evidence of a mint ever having existed at Ludlow, and that coins marked *lv*, *LVD*, and *LVDE* were actually struck at London.

Dr. Horace Round also informs me that there can not be any doubt that the manor of Lude which Mr. Eyton would identify with Ludlow is identical with Lyde, in the heart of Herefordshire.

Left to myself to find a theory to explain the existence of an early Norman castle at Ludlow, I concluded, after weighing all the available evidence, that Mr. Eyton was certainly right in claiming Roger de Lacy as its founder, but by reason of the site of the Castle being actually part of his great Domesday manor of Stanton. It also seemed plain that, until Roger began the Castle, the place we call Ludlow, like the parallel cases of Windsor and Richmond, had no existence.

At my suggestion Dr. Round has since examined the question independently, and he now writes: "I personally feel no doubt that the site of Ludlow was included in (the Domesday) Stanton Lacy. I say this from my wide knowledge of these matters. I believe that Ludlow town grew up around the Castle (as was the way in these parts) and that Eyton's belief in its antiquity is all imagination."

As Roger de Lacy did not become possessed of the manor of Stanton Lacy until his father's death in 1085, the Castle of Ludlow can hardly have been begun before, and this will account for the omission of any mention of it or the town in the Great Survey.

On architectural grounds alone there can be no hesitation in believing that the castle was already built before Roger de Lacy fled the kingdom, after his second rebellion against the king, in 1095, and the works of the second date may well have been carried out by his brother Hugh, to whom, on account of his

^a *Op. cit.* v. 280.

^b Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum.

remaining loyal, Roger's estates were granted after his banishment.⁴ Hugh de Lacy died in or before 1121, when his estates passed to Gilbert, the son of his sister Emma, who took the name of Lacy. From him the Castle of Ludlow eventually descended to the two coheiresses of another Gilbert de Lacy, who died in 1234: Matilda, who married, first, Peter of Geneva (ob. 1249), and afterwards Geoffrey de Genevill; and Margaret, wife of John de Verdon.

By Geoffrey de Genevill Matilda de Lacy had a son Peter, to whom in 1283 his parents granted the Castle of Ludlow, a moiety of the vill, and other lands, all of which he held at his death in 1292.⁵ This Peter de Genevill probably began the great hall and chambers west of it. Since he died without a son, his inheritance passed to his three daughters. Two of these, however, became nuns at Aeornbury, and the third, Joan, married before 1308, Roger Mortimer, lord of Wigmore, who after the death of Geoffrey de Genevill (father of Peter) in 1314 became joint lord of Ludlow with Theobald de Verdon, grandson of Margaret de Lacy.

To Roger Mortimer, who in 1328 was created Earl of March, may be attributed the completion of the block west of the great hall, and the fourteenth-century buildings east of it. He also certainly built about 1328 the chapel of St. Peter in the outer bailey.

The second Earl of March, Roger Mortimer, grandson of the first earl, became possessed in 1358 of the whole manor of Ludlow, by exchanging the manor of Crendon (co. Bucks) with Sir William Ferrers for the moiety of Ludlow which had descended to the latter from Theobald de Verdon.⁶

On the death without issue of Edmond Mortimer, the fifth earl, in January, 1424-5, Ludlow Castle passed with his other property to his nephew Richard, son of his sister Anne and Richard, Earl of Cambridge. He was created Duke of York in 1426, and held the Castle all through the Wars of the Roses, but was killed at the battle of Wakefield on 30th December, 1460. He was succeeded by his elder son Edward, who was proclaimed King of England on 4th March, 1460-1, when all his father's dignities and possessions became merged in the Crown.

⁴ Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Paris, 1845), iii. 411.

⁵ Eyton, v. 278, 279.

⁶ Close Roll, 38 Edward III. m. 18d. Mr. G. T. Clark has wrongly assigned this exchange to Roger the fourth Earl (*Medieval Military Architecture*, i. 289).

The later history of the Castle has been so clearly set forth by Mr. G. T. Clark that it is hardly necessary to refer to it.

From 1472 to 1483 the Castle was the home of the king's two sons, and later on that of Prince Arthur, the elder son of King Henry VII., who died here in 1502.

In 1501, following upon a reform in the administration of the Principality, William Smyth, Bishop of Lincoln, was appointed first Lord President of Wales, an office which continued to be held by bishops down to 1549. In 1550-53, and again in 1555-8, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, was Lord President of Wales, and to him may be ascribed the prison block and stabling in the outer bailey. Sir Henry Sidney held the office from 1559 to 1586, and, as has been shown, carried out many important works. A later President, William Compton, Earl of Northampton from 1617 to 1630, has also left his mark upon the Castle.

The Castle was surrendered to the Parliamentary Army in 1646, but apparently escaped injury, though after the murder of King Charles I. the contents of the several rooms were appraised and sold. The buildings were again fitted up for use for the President, when the Court of the March was revived at the Restoration, but after the abolition of the Court in 1689 the Castle was for a time placed in the hands of a governor. An inventory of its contents rendered in 1708^a shows that much of the furniture was then in a dilapidated state. From Lord Powis's collection of plans and drawings, made in 1765, it appears that many of the floors and partitions were then remaining, but the roof of the Judges' Lodgings was a mere wreck, and by 1811, when the Castle was sold to the Earl of Powis, it seems to have fallen into its present roofless and ruinous condition. It is now excellently cared for.

P.S.—Among the Blakeway MSS. in the Bodleian Library^b is the following description of Ludlow Castle, described as "From Mr. W. Mytton's collections, and there expressed to be from the papers of Mr. R. Perkes, junr.," who was town clerk of Ludlow from 1719 to 1751.^c As will be seen, it records several

^a Thomas Wright, *History of Ludlow* (Ludlow, 1852), 436-439.

^b Blakeway MS. II ff. 221, 222.

facts that are not noted elsewhere; and is of value as showing the inscriptions of the various buildings shortly before the Castle fell into ruin:

Now I come to describe y^e several Rooms in y^e Castle. First I shall mention y^e outward Green, the Castle as built by Roger de Montgomery has been improved by the owners and a great deal of Building added to it, in the outward Green there is a Prison which was built in the time of Queen Elizabeth and in the Presidency of the Earl of Pembroke^{*} which is next adjoining to the entrance which is called the Porters Lodge over the Gate and also on the south side of this Green are Stables which were built in the Reigne of Qu: Eliza: and Presidency of the Earl of Pembroke which are now in ruins; there is also the Wood Yard, and next to that the Court House of the Marches of Wales, in which sate the four Welsh Judges with all other officers belonging to this Court, to try and determine Causes, a place once of great Request, in which all the Records belonging to the Court of the Marches were kept, but since the Revolution has been utterly ruined, and the records have been taken out by the Dragoons and people of the Town for their own use, or sold by the Dragoons to them. And now I come to a little Tower built by King Edward y^e IVth, which is next to the Court House and so to the Mote, and now I must go into the inner Green; at the entrance of w^{ch} was y^e Judges Lodging, and so Eastward y^e Wash House (Laniry), and then to the Chappell in which Stalls and a seat raised high for the Prince and nobility (N.B. y^e is not in y^e Chappell but comes out of another room[†] and so juts into the Chappell) in which Chappell are y^e Coats of Arms of y^e Presidents and those y^e practised in y^e Court 1672. & a passage from thence leads to the Council Chamber where y^e Prince is Pressent Lord President Judges and Head offices determine the affaires belonging to the Principality of Wales, in which are y^e names of y^e Lth Presidents on y^e wall; from which Room eastward y^e go to y^e Kings Chamber and Dining Room out of w^{ch} place there is Wigmore Hole and thence on to the walls which once might have been walked round, but now by reason of more Building near the wall cannot, on y^e west you go to other Rooms of State and so to the great Hall, out of which a pair of Stairs take you up on the 2d. loft where is y^e Guard Room, and next to that ye Princes Chamber, where Prince Arthur dyed, and other Rooms which lead to the Leads, from which place there is a noble Prospect, and now I come down stairs again to go out of the great Hall and from thence leads to the Larders and other Conveniences for keeping of meat, and thence to the great Kitchen where is now to be seen the great chopping block, ovens, stews, cisterns and a great fire place; and

* The writer is indebted to Mr. H. T. Weyman, F.S.A., for bringing this description to his notice.

† Probably William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, Lord President 1550-53 and 1555-8.

‡ This "other room" was clearly the upper story of the round part, which served merely as an ante-chapel, and from it there projected into the chancel, through the arch, a gallery or pew for the Prince and nobility.

thence y^e go to the Brewhouse where are y^e great Coolers, Tubs, furnace and other things now to be seen, where y^e go to y^e Prison for persons of Quality offending,* which joyces to the Judges Apartment, out of which you go over a Bridge, over which is y^e arms of England sett up in y^e time of E.R. (i.e. Queen Elizabeth) 'tis reported y^e this was a Drawbridge and that which is now called y^e Castle Ditch was full of water for the better security of the Castle, 'tis wall'd in very strong, but now there is no Lord President and a very small Salary belonging to the keeper of it and for want of fire and the building decaying the inhabitants in and now lies in ruins, there is also a Bowling green with a little dwelling house belonging to it which is inhabited by the old [sic] and great window'd Rooms and other things in the Castle.

* The writer is here referring to the keep or great tower.

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